



REMARKS

ONTHE

LETTER

TO

JOHN BUXTON, Efq;

special collections DOUGLAS



TO HE BOX TO SEE

queen's university at kingston

kingston ontario canada

REMARKS

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LETTER

T O

JOHN BUXTON, Efq;

Falsus honor juvat et mendax infamia terret Quem? nisi mendosum et mendacem?—

Hor.

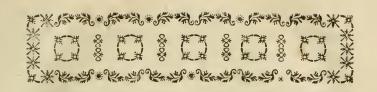
On foreign mountains may the fun refine
The grapes's foft juice, and mellow it to wine,
With citron groves adorn a distant foil,
And the fat olive swell with floods of oil:
We envy not the warmer clime that lies
In ten degrees of more indulgent skies:
'Tis LIBERTY that crowns Britannia's isle,
And makes her barren rocks, and her bleak mountains smile.

ADDISON'S Epistle to Lord HALIFAX.

LONDON:

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T O

JOHN BUXTON, Esq; &c.

greater professions of candor, or a more affected air of impartiality, than the writer of this most extraordinary epistle; and never was a work carried on, and carried thro', with a greater spirit of party, and private rancour and malevolence; full of misrepresentation from beginning to end, and big with evasions, quirks, and quibbles: his favorite characters drawn not as they are, but as he would have them to be; set off in a glare of colours, and a borrow'd lustre thrown around them, while those of his opponents

nents are veiled in shades, clouded, and obfeured in the darkest grounds.

It is the defign of the following fheets to do justice to the injured, to try this artist's exhibitions by the mirror of truth, to see if his paintings will stand the test, to hold them out to public view, and to submit them to the judgement of men of observation and experience. We'll strip the foreign gilding off his favorite sigures, and when they are discovered naked and unadorned, and are beheld in their genuine beauty or deformity, then let candor and unprejudiced opinion proclaim their value, and affert their real excellence.

His language is fo exceedingly smooth at first, and he puts on such an appearance of tender-ness to character, as if it gave him pain to wound, where most he labours to destroy: a few pages convince the reader that it is all stam, Author's craft, all pretence and affectation, being only to be compared to the soft greetings of the midnight murderer on the stage.

" Don't be frightened, madam; but if you offer to stir, I'll blow your brains out."

Not to detain the reader with any further preface, we will enter at once upon this mafter-piece of politicks and flander, which has been privately circulated with great industry amongst the party, and with great difficulty procured

by their opponents; as if that party was conficious of it's defects, it's fallacious reasoning, and it's corrupt tendency, and all the brittle ingredients in it's composition; and the author or authors ashamed and asraid to have their confederate labours and joint production examined by any but prejudiced perusers, or laid open and arraigned at the bar of the impartial public. They write to please a Junto, and not to instruct a county.

Page 4, begins with a common place description of a contested election; the feuds and animosities, debauchery and riot, consequent upon it: it were to be wished indeed by every faithful member of a community, that thefe inconveniencies, or these evils, if the author pleafes, were not the natural attendants on a public conflict; but they are unavoidable, and tho' impossible to be prevented altogether, yet by a happy disposition in the feveral leaders, and by a prudent and concurrent conduct in the candidates, they may be confiderably reduced; they are the natural consequences of contending parties we must allow, and unavoidable for this reason; viz. from the stubborn obstinate perseverance of narrow minded, corrupt, and felf-interested men who lost to all public spirit, deaf to the voice of liberty, and insensible of the bleffings of that free constitution which

which diftinguishes the happy British subject, above all others in the world, set themselves up in opposition and desiance to every champion in the cause of national virtue, and would facrifice their own rights and privileges as Englishmen, provided they could trample upon those of others with impunity. They pursue this object with unremitting ardor and unrelenting rage; they are the first to blow the trumpet of sedition, and blindly follow the dictates of party passion, and the lust of power.

In proportion to the headstrong fury with which these enemies to their country exert their baneful influence, the friends and bulwarks of the public safety are compelled to act with vigor and with warmth; and hence arises, and to this alone is owing, that scene of confusion and disorder at elections, which all good men indifferently complain of, but which the best and wifest amongst us, know not how to remedy.

The truly British spirit that animates the defenders of our laws and liberties, is, by apostates of the above stamp, decried as faction; their generous attempts to secure the birthright of the subject, or to repair the breaches in the common-wealth, are stilled feditious, and tending to disturb the peace of the community: but I aver, that opposition to men of such pernicious

pernicious principles, is the only path that leads to true tranquility and peace.

The cry of the peace of a town and county is well defined to be " The Cant language " of the party in possession, which dreads " to be diffurbed," and most commonly from a consciousness of their own ill conduct, which will not bear the fcrutiny of a public examination; a past conduct that fills them with apprehenfions, and makes them turn pale, and shudder at the thoughts of a just resentment in their constituents; whose actions but ill endure the light, which want the mist of corruption and deceit to cover them, and whose darling spectacle and object is a people lulled in fupiness and indifference, whom they are no ways inclined to rouse themselves, and tremble to see roused by others. With what a panick was Sir A**** flruck, on reading an advertisement requesting the attendance of such gentlemen at the shire house on the eighth day of October, who were NO FRIENDS to GE-NERAL WARRANTS? did he not skip like a pea upon a drum head? could he remain a moment in a place? was not the quickfilver in his whole body afloat? the fact is recent, was publickly known at the last assizes. What could create this alarm, this fudden revolution in his frame? the found of GENERAL WAR-RANTS RANTS could be no bugbear to the mind confcious of integrity, to the bosom armed with innocence: the steady disinterested patriot, the faithful representative of his constituents, bears his invulnerable breast-plate for ever about him.

Nil conscire fibi

rifes fuperior to all attacks, and remains on all occasions unshaken and unterrified. But more of this hereafter in it's proper place.

The cry of peace, the preservation of the peace, which we are now upon, is as observed before, the common cant of the party in possession, of artful and designing men, the panders to power and ambition; it is ever thrown out in favour of the sitting members, let their conduct in parliament have been ever so exceptionable, ever so injurious to the true interest of their country or their constituents, or their notions ever so incompatible with the freedom of the state, and the liberty of the subject.

Is it not the cant word made use of now in favor of those representatives, who have all along attached themselves to a ministry pursuing unconstitutional measures of government? who acted with them, consulted with them, voted with them? will Mr. Buxton's new and impartial correspondent deny this? he cannot deny it with truth, any more than he can that

Sir A***** voted in favour of GENERAL WARRANTS, which we shall shew hereafter: by which unpopular and dangerous vote to the community, the liberty of every inhabitant, not only in this great county, which he has now the honor to represent, but in the whole kingdom, was exposed to hourly assults, and their houses (formerly their castles) subjected to be plundered and risled, their papers, the most secret of them, to be ransacked and seized, and their families imprisoned, without provocation, without guilt, nay even where their innocence should be known.

The cry of peace will not lead to peace, especially when attended by "Engrossing (as "is now the case) the votes of freeholders by bribery, by every artful and undue in fluence, and by chusing the representatives of a whole county, by a handful of interested men," acting under the banner of a persecuting, ambitious, and revengeful favorite: opposition, I repeat it again, is now become the only path that leads to peace.

Having done with our author's flimfey argument of peace, the thin difguise of which is easily seen thro', we come now to his description of what fort of representatives opposition in his opinion, may be made to with propriety and reason.

And these are, Page 5.

- 1. " Members, negligent of the trust committed to them:
- 2. " Members incapable of discharging it:
- 3. " Mercenary dependents on a corrupt ministry:

And laftly,

and here breaks out the old leaven, the center of political gravity that binds together and attracts all and every of these anti-revolutional existencies,

"Members, who unite themselves to a tur"bulent and democratic faction, dangerously
"combined to oppose the executive power,
"to clog the wheels of government, and shake
"the pillars of the public safety:"

I will ask the cool and dispassionate reader what ideas he can affemble together on reading this passage, that will not lead him to form in his mind the old exploded doctrines of justivinum, passive obedience, and non resistance? this is a revival of those execrable positions with a vengeance!

The author will not, dare not presume to affirm, that the late parliamentary contests were other than the warm struggles for affaulted liberty, and the vigorous efforts made to prop, and not to shake, the pillars of the public safe-

ty: they were the bold and glorious attempts' of publick spirited representatives to secure the liberties and rights of the people when invaded: they were made to withstand of pression, and to refift illegal and arbitary measures of administration, and not to clog the wheels of government. Those patriots were not members dangerously combined to oppose the executive power, but they were men of unquestioned loyalty and affection to their fovereign; they were men of unimpeached integrity and honor, engaged in one common cause, the cause of virtue, and of liberty, and affociated together to curb the insolence of a tyrannical North British favourite; of one who was pursuing the fame obnoxious measures, which rendered the four last years of queen Anne so justly defpicable, and the acts of her ministers so justly formidable to all real lovers of their country, and to the friends to the protestant succession, in the illustrious house of HANOVER. were opposing Cocoa-Tree-Counsellors, the daring advocates of prerogative and power, the new adopted progeny of statesmen sprung from the scions of the good old True Blue Rock; and who in all reigns are found to act uniformly and the fame, on desperate principles, totally incompatible with the fecurity and freedom of this country, and which experience in all ages have

have shewn: who were driving 'fehu-like as foon as mounted, as they have ever done when once admitted to the reins, and who if not timely flopped by men of honor and virtue, might probably have brought irreparable de-Aruction upon the community. The faithful friends of the people checked the fury of these impetuous charioteers, and did most affuredly clog their carriage wheels; but they preserved the machine of government unhurt, they fupported the necessities, and supplied the wants and exigencies of the state, at the same time they reffrained and kept within due bounds the harpy fangs of a hungry, all-devouring administration; headed by an infolent, imperious, all-grasping favourite.

And now let us fee which of our county members we can discover upon this honourable roll of patriots; (for they were truly so, however out of vogue that title is at present;) was Sir A**** one? No, his name appears not: the ever glorious T*****d our author's military and civil paragon? No, he is not there. What? not the rise and origin, the clipper and coiner of the national militia, that bulwark for the desence of the nation, and the liberties of the people? No, he is not found in that respectable list. But the name of Sir A***** may possibly be discovered on the roll at the

Cocoa

Cocoa Tree, that plain of action and confultation for Hanoverian patriots: the Cocoa tree! I beg the baronet's pardon, the Royal Exchange I should have said; the rendezvous of that very loyal fociety having been fo diftinguished from the beginning of this reign with emphatical propriety.

Well! but was Sir A *** "a mercenary de-" pendant on a corrupt ministry," one of our author's disqualifications for a member? No. He had no place to influence him; he was no mercenary dependant; he was only a voluntary

abettor of a corrupt ministry.

Was he "negligent of the trust committed "to him?" No, as far as He knew, and Sir C**** M***** instructed and permitted

him, he was active enough.

Was he "incapable of discharging it?" Why here we must demur a little, because if his abilities be unquestioned, there was no immediate occasion for Warwickshire advice to superintend the interests of Norfolk. Abilities? Capacity? Surely they are not strangers at Kymberly: and yet I never heard of many who fell into company with them on a visit at that feat. The baronet cannot be denied however to have a great command of volubility of speech, which diffinguishes him every where but in the House of Commons; while sentiment, like a C_2

whipper-

whipper-in, lagging behind, in vain endeavours to keep his ftraggling pack of ideas together: alas! too often at an irretrievable default.

Now, having drawn a little sketch of our representative Sir A*****, the reader must judge whether he does, or does not, come under the description of those members, whom according to our author,

"It becomes the duty of every honest man to exert himself with vigor in opposing," and whom he stiles "unworthy members."

If he does come under that description, why then the gentlemen who oppose him, "do not "facrifice the public peace to a private resent-"ment, or a wanton popularity, or a vain "ambition," and these words are merely expletives, and have no meaning, but in the confused brain of our bigotted and disingenuous disputant.

Page 6. The author next proceeds to the contested election in 1734, which he wilfully and totally misrepresents; it was not a contest against pensioners and placemen, it was a contest between Men of revolution principles, and professed Tories, to say no worse of many of them; a contest supported principally by those, who principally supported the act of settlement and the protestant succession, in opposition to men of samilies and connections who would

have defeated it, and who were men of known arbitrary principles. The author acknowledges that the defign was "to pulldown" the minister of that time: a very meritorious cause of opposition truly; to pull down the greatest minister this age has produced, and who is at this time universally acknowledged to be so. To pull down the man who was one of the main instruments in placing the present royal family upon the throne of these kingdoms? But alas! the memory of that time is wearing out apace; where are the *Portland's*, *Devonshires*, and *Pelham's* now to be discovered?

When impious men bear fway, The post of honour is a private station.

Did the minister to be pulled down in 1734, cause or suffer representatives of the people to be feized in their own houses, in time of peace and quiet? Did he conclude a disadvantageous and ******s peace, after a GLORIOUS war, and a series of amazing conquests carried on with uninterrupted success, in every part of the globe, and beyond the example of former ages? No; but he IMPEACHED the vile contrivers, the scandalous negotiators of a dishonorable peace, and forced them to sty their country: had they remained to have received

ceived the punishment due to their treasons in facrificing the glory of the nation, 'tis more than probable it would have made some others fince more cautious*.

With what a wretched grace does this abufive penman introduce the article of PENSI-ONS? Did Sir ROBERT WALPOLE encrease the civil list by numerous and unprecedented officers? Did he advance the lords in waiting upon the person of majesty from twelve to twenty? Did he turn in and turn out the

* Address of the Electors, after the new Parliament was

The electors in feveral counties and cities, drew up inftructions for their representatives; those of the city of London had this passage:

"We defire, and expect, that you will inquire by whose counsel it was, that after God had bleffed the arms of her late maighty, and her allies, with a train of unparallelled successes,

" she was prevailed upon, contrary to the grand alliance, and

"her repeated promifes from the throne to both houses, to fend
to, or receive managers from France, to treat separately of a

" peace, without the knowledge or confent of our allies."

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE'S report, as Chairman of the Secret Committee, upon which the articles of IMPEACHMENT against the Earl of Oxford, Lord Bolingbroke, and other Ministers, who had made the peace of Utrecht, were grounded, recites amongst others:

Article 5. The fatal fuspension of arms.

8. The Lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a feparate peace.

 Mr. Prior's, and the Duke of Shrewfbury's negotiations in France.

10. The precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht.

the highest officers of state, upon caprice and whim, or from apprehensions of their being too popular and too steadily attached to the true interest of the kingdom? thereby putting a stop to all public business of every kind and in every department*? But Sir ROBERT WALPOLE wants no advocate to defend his conduct from the venemous shafts and impotent malice of this malignant and virulent defamer.

Let me prefent, by way of contrast, to the diffinguishing reader the following manæuvres of another minister, and let impartiality determine, whether there is not a minister at this time to pull down, whose over-ruling influence behind the curtain has involved this unhappy country in more distractions, and more parties than were ever heard of in the æra he defcribes; yet has he the confidence to declare, " we have now no Party, not even the name " of a party, no minister to raise up or pull "down; we have no court influence to hope " or to fear, nor any end in view but the " mischievous pleasure of doing and undoing;" of that indeed every year, almost every month produces

^{*} And this at a time when our enemies are ftraining every nerve to repair the losses of the late war: forty-fix capital ships have been built in the ports of France alone, since the conclusion of the peace of Paris.

produces but too many flagrant and melancholy inflances.

List of changes in the present reign, which will best mark the disposition and true character of the present premier behind the curtain.

"London, April, 1766.

- "According to the list of changes just pub-"lished, it appears, that during the present "reign, there has been no less than;
 - 2 Lord Chancellors.
 - 4 Lord Presidents.
 - 5 Lord Keepers of the Privy Seal, and once the Seal in Commission.
 - 5 First Lords of the Treasury.
 - 13 Other Lords of the Treasury.
 - 6 Chancellors of the Exchequer.
 - 5 Lord Chamberlains.
 - 2 Vice Chamberlains.
 - 3 Grooms of the Stole.
 - 31 Different Lords of the Bed Chamber.
 - 22 Different Grooms of the Bed Chamber.
 - 4 Keepers of the Great Wardrobe.
 - 4. Groom Porters.
 - 2 Lord Stewards.
 - 5 Comptrollers.
 - 5 Treasurers.
 - 5 Cofferers.

[17]

- 12 Different Clerks of the Broad of Green Cloth.
 - 3 Treasurers of the Chamber.
 - 5 Masters of the Horse.
- 11 Secretaries of State.
 - 7 First Lords of the Admiralty.
- 23 Different Lords of the Admiralty.
 - 8 First Lords of Trade.
 - 18 Different Lords of Trade.
 - 9 Post Masters.
 - 4 Paymasters.
 - 3 Treasurers of the Navy.
 - 3 Secretaries at War.
 - 5 Keepers of Privy Seal of Scotland.
 - 8 Vice Treasurers of Ireland.

Since the above date, 1766, how many additions could be made to the preceding lift?

- "Yet we have no minister to raise up or pull down, no party, nor even the NAME of
- " a party amongst us." Matchless effrontery!
- " but I feel an asperity rising upon me which
- " shall not be indulged."

Now for the " ignis fatuus of the Bath-metal" ftar, which we are dancing after, hands " across. Page 6." Bath-metal star! this must be Attick salt, for most assuredly, it is not English.

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Sir WILLIAM HARBORD is a gentleman perhaps as much effected, and as defervedly as any other in this county; his private virtues and his publick principles are such, as must for ever recommend him to the confideration of men of probity and character. No person, however improved by education or experience, has reason to blush when following his example; he is a guide to lead us to the path of honour, and to the TEMPLE of LIBERTY, but he is no ignis fatuus to draw us into the dirt; if he had, our author had never left him till he had been up to the ears in it; for floundering in the dirt appears to be his darling passion.

The next portrait, in his room of exhibition, is the great and formidable peer of R*****. He fays, Page 6. "no fooner was he ap-"pointed to Ireland, but his character was at-"tacked, with all the malice of the most pe-"tulant and illiberal calumny, intending, no doubtto reachthro' his lordship, and to blass the fair character of, Mr. De Grey. "This is fine reasoning indeed; for how can a personal fatire upon lord T******* affect the character of Mr. De Grey? if it be applicable to the one, (and they are very different men both in situation and disposition, as, I believe, no body will deny) how can it be applicable to the other?

other? besides, if I recollect aright, those papers were in print, and my lord (Aug. 12.) declared a vice-roy, before ever any opposition to Mr. De Grey was thought of. So much for the latter part of his affertion, and as to the former, I believe there were full as many extraordinary articles printed, to celebrate the transcendent qualities of the noble lord, as to ridicule them. I will treat the gentleman with one or two of them, and which he may possibly remember to have read.

"The appointment of lord Townshend, elder brother of the right honourable Charles
"Townshend, to the important post of lord
lieutenant of Ireland, is not a temporary nomination; and it is thought to be a circumstance that will prove highly agreeable to
the Irish in general, his lordship having
evinced himself, on several occasions, to be
an able statesman, a good soldier, a convictive orator, an excellent patriot, and (of
all the most valuable) an honest man."

London, August, 16, 1767.

"Lord Townshend deserves to have his "name inscribed in adamantine letters, on a "column of eternal same." " Lord Townshend is an honor to human "nature."

Public Advertiser in August, 1767.

Such were the public testimonies of his virtues, on his appointment to the government of Ireland*. But still our author is not satisfied: "If, says he, his many illustrious virtues, both "public and private, if his faithful and im-"portant services to his country, both at home and abroad, will not raise him superior to these attacks, we must e'en give him up, "lamenting over him, however, with this ora-"tion of the Roman,

"O! mighty Cæfar, dost thou lie so low?

"Are all thy conquests, glories, trophies, spoils, "Shrunk to this little measure? fare thee "well."

Forgive

* Extract of a Letter from Dublin.

"Having feen in your English news-papers a variety of panegyrics on our new Lord Lieutenant," &c.

"I hope Lord Townshend will prove a fit Governor; yet notwithstanding I cannot think any of those, sincere friends to

" his Lordship, who have lavished such extravagant praises on

"him in the news-papers, and who thereby raife the publick

" expectation. I think the people of Ireland should be taught,

" by experience, to look for mischief, and guard against it.

Political Register.

Forgive me, genius of Panegyrick, if I should add my exclamation too!

O! mighty Cæfar dost thou lie so low? Are all thy conquests, glories, trophies, spoils, Shrunk to this --le comparison!

But I shall dismiss the consideration of the "conquests, and glories, and trophies" of this renowned p*** and general, as the recital of them occurs again in the Re-echo from Ireland page 9.

The PUBLIC SLAVE, whom this victorious leader carries in the chariot with him, a circumstance which the author introduces to shew his reading, is very properly introduced as a companion to the triumphant p***; he has ever been fond of slaves, and is to this very hour; nay so fond of them, that I don't know whether he would not do his best to make the whole kingdom so; but I will not venture to affert it.

The public flave! aye! that epithet feems to mean fomebody, and yet if I guess aright, it is one that has very little of a flave about him; I am bold to fay, he is one, to whose face this very familiar writer dares not avow the appellation. If the author had faid a flave of the publick, the title perhaps had been more

more applicable, and would have been confidered as a title of honor, by the gentleman alluded to, who has occasionally ferved the public, at least, if exposing his life in action with the enemies of his country, be allowed to be a public fervice.

Leaving him and the peer, rolling and railing together, in the fame imaginary car of triumph (for the car of triumph is certainly imaginary) we are now conducted to St. Andrew's hall, Page 7. and 8. where the author, very prudently, paffes over in filence the frothy and unfubstantial harangue of Mr. De G***, the vindication of General Warrants, and the comparison introduced between them and the royal proclamation for prohibiting the exportation of corn, and again attacks the very respectable character of Sir William Harbord with his former virulence.

Many remarks upon the speech of Mr. De G*** and far from being to the honor of the speaker, were made at the time of it's delivery, and perhaps it may with truth be afferted, that some of his best friends were much disgusted at it; many hung down their heads, when they heard the son and heir to that staunch old whig, whom, his country singled out, as the ablest defender of it's liber-

ties, in time of peril+, vindicating unconstitutional, and arbitrary measures of government, and that with a forward zeal, and, as it were, stepping out of his road to do it; as if he prided himself in being the voluntary champion of proceedings, so obnoxious to the people, so dangerous to the community.

Mr. NO GHOST, the Norwich citizen, not our author, tho, he fays He is No Ghoft distinguishes between the two acts of authority, cited by Mr. De G***, and defines the one to be,

"An extension of the royal prerogative at the united request of the whole kingdom;" the other,

"A wanton act of power of an arbitrary and over-bearing minister."

And this diffinction has hitherto remained uncontroverted.

But in what an unpleafing light must a candidate appear, who, in the face of the county he is soliciting to have the honor to represent in parliament, draws these forced and unnatural comparisons? does he not adopt the measures he vindicates? does he not make the doctrines of power his own? arbitrary power and ministerial vengeance. No good man,

and true friend to the liberties of his conflituents, would turn the advocate of tyranny and oppression.

But let us hear the fentiments of the celebrated author of "The letter concerning General "Warrants, &c." touching this point; a work which no friend to liberty should be without.

Speaking of irregularities in transactions of government, where the extremity of the case induces men to wink at them, and not to call proceedings of that kind in question, he observes as follows;

"And yet BAD MEN, as one may ea"fily figure to one's felf, will be apt to lay a ftrefs
"upon fuch acts of necessity, as precedents for
"their doing the LIKE in ordinary cases,
"and to gratify personal pique; and therefore
"fuch excesses of power are dangerous in ex"ample, and should never be excused, but
"when it appears that government could not
"be defended, or upheld without actual recourse
"to them."

Was not, what this learned author figures only to himself in imagination, exemplified strongly by the conduct of Mr. De G*** at the hall? did he not lay a stress upon an act of necessity? for such it was: were not the poor throughout the kingdom starving, and famine approaching in hasty strides upon the land? could government be upheld when the people

were reduced to mifery, and almost expiring for want of bread? and, is this necessary extension of the royal authority to be compared to a wanton, ministerial warrant, for feizing the person and papers of a representative of the people for a supposed libel? "He that touches the parliament, fays Sir " John Thompson, as quoted by the above " author, touches the vital part of the na-"tion." Yet, a parallel between these two respective acts of power, was not only afferted, but enforced by Mr. De G*** in the face of the whole county. The opinion the above great lawyer entertains of fuch perfons is fufficiently explicit; however, I shall only remark, that if his opinion be justly founded, our partial letter-writer may lower his standard and expunge his motto; or apply the detur digniori, with more propriety, to either of the new candidates, and let the public voice decide their claim to it.

That Mr. De G*** was hastily nominated, and elected on the death of lord Townshend by a funto of men, and mostly by militia-officers, and the county, as it were, jockey'd out of their free choice, is a manifest truth, known to every body; and which was as manifestly confirmed, by their slender attendance on the member, upon the day of his return. There is

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no occasion for the soft term of infinuation, it being a fact so well authenticated. Mr. De G*** was not elected by the united voice of the county, as the author boldly and roundly afferts, for the county in general knew very little about the matter; and it would have been more agreeable to truth, as well as modesty, to have said, that Mr De G*** was elected without a contest; no one, upon the declining of Sir EDWARD ASTLEY, being prepared to oppose him: but it was then publickly said every where, that he would not come in so easily another time, when there was opportunity for consulting the sentiments of the body of the freeholders.

This being the case, and let our author contradict it if he can, I see no impropriety in that part of the speech of Sir W. HARBORD.

But now we come to his militia objection: the author, with an affected vein of pleafantry, ridicules Sir William, as forgetting the old mililitary Morden; and "being apprehensive, that "militia Colonels were dangerous as they wear "fwords, and therefore not to be entrusted with a share of civil government." I do believe, from my heart, that this accusation is unjust, for I cannot think Sir William was ever of opinion that the fwords of the militia were

in the least dangerous, or, that their officers were at all formidable to fociety in general: for my own part, I believe they are gendemen as much inclined to peace as we could wish them, nor do I think they will ever attempt to overturn any established government whatever. They are no fuch desperate men; tho', it must be acknowledged, they repealed the violent affaults of the Hampshire ox with an amazing intrepidity. Our author must therefore misunderstand Sir William, as his voice was not extremely diffinct, or loud, not being in health; and the address from Ireland to the lord lieutenant, on that head, makes nothing for him, exclusive of it's being Irish evidence. We all know, compliments to a new lord lieutenant are usual, as an expedient, perhaps, to put him in good humor; and we have, before now, feen addresses from the H. of C. of Ireland, thanking his majefty, for fending over a fecond time a vice-roy, whom they had opposed the preceding fession with the utmost violence, and whom they were as refolutely determined to oppose, in that which was to follow: * but as to this part of their address, I shall only quote, by way of final answer, an epigram, that made its appearance at Dublin upon their famous address upon the late ----s peace

peace of Paris, which was voted honorable and advantageous.**

Quoth Teague to Paddy, in a tone outrageous, "The devil burn their houses, advantageous! Paddy more cool, "they know in England, brother;

"We Irish, spake one thing, and mane another."

Our author has been pleafed to omit the most material and important part of Sir William's speech, which was this; he said, "the honourable gentlemen seem to plume themselves upon their services in parliament, but he must be so free as to tell them, he was one, of many others, who were not so perfectly satisfied with their fervices." Our author has drop'd and sunk this part of his speech upon us.

And now for the illustrious conqueror of the North,

Public Register published at Dublin, Jan. 29, 1768.

^{*}In the Speech from the T—ne, delivered at the Opening of that Seffion, the Senate was informed of the late Peace having been concluded. This was a Matter that we had nothing to do with. We are never confulted, about Peace or War, nor, are ever any Preliminaries, or definitive treaties, laid before us. Therefore, as they could not fairly frame any judgment about the Matter, the Senate took no Notice of that part of the Speech, in the Address they returned to it. However, toward the Close of that Session, some Court Manœuvres were performed, in Concert with Rufin, and to the Surprize and Scandal of all Barateria, a particular, unprecedented, and servile Address, in Compliment to the Peace, was moved for, and carried, against a strong, and spirited Opposition.

North, whose portrait is hung round with trophies, spoils and glories, and varnished over with such resplendent colours, such a brilliant lustre of accumulated rays, that it dazzles the eyes of the beholder; and the main figure is lost, and scarce discernable, in the glare

furrounding it.

This hero of renown, being on his travels in the year 1743, and at no great distance from the army, visited the camp, and being acquainted with the earl of D*****, colonel of a regiment of guards, and a lieutenant general, obtained his permission to stay a little with the troops; an opportunity very desirable to all young travellers, a numerous army, encamped, being a noble and striking spectacle; the constant scene of action, the hurry and bustle, the hourly alarms and events, the perpetual flourish of trumpets, roar of cannon, and distant roll of drums,

' Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war,'

are exceedingly transporting and delightful to a raw and unexperienced mind, which takes not into its view, the toils, fatigues, and dangers that attend this captivating shew, and treacherous parade.

The battle of *Dettingen*, which was totally unexpected, falling out during his flay in camp,

he was present at it with the lord D****

Now we all know, very well, the little part the guards had in the action of that day: this is not mentioned by way of reflection on that brave body of men, but it is well known they were not engaged; fo that very little honor can possibly be derived to him, from his attendance in the field on that occasion, which may with more propriety be termed an

escape than a VICTORY.

However, a handle was made of this infignificant trip to a camp, and, tho' it was a voluntary transaction of his own, arising from a motive of curiofity, it was diligently trumpeted about, that fuch a life was too important to be exposed to the fury of undishing uishing cannon, with a wicked and malicious infinuation, that he was fent abroad to be knocked of the head, in order to make way for his younger brother C****, the greater favourite of the father: his l***** best knows what countenance he gave to these reports, or whether, or not, he confirmed them in his letters from abroad, expressing any jealousy at the same time, or resentment against that brother. Soon after he left the army and went to France.

The late duke of Cumberland was the first who gave him a commission, and that in the year 1745; his royal highness also made him one of his aid de camps. How very grateful

he was, and how he rewarded his royal benefactor, let his celebrated caricaturas speak for him. The duke promoted him to a company in the guards, and he *still* remained in his family.

His 1***** was never in action, in his whole life, as a battalion-officer, never fought in any one corps of men whatever; but was promoted to the rank of a general officer, through the interest of Mr. PITT, without being once at the head of any regiment employed on service, or even doing duty in one: he never was in fact, more than a captain in the guards, nor did he ever do any duty in that corps, 'till after the peace of 1748: and then he found it so very fatiguing to him, and so difficult to attend in town, mount guard in his turn, be prefent on field days, in a word, in complying with general orders, that he foon after resigned his commission: on which occafion, it is faid, his royal highness thus expressed himself to him; "Sir! you have my leave " to refign to-day, and you shall have the k***'s " to-morrow."

His natural uncertainty of temper pursued him into the country; soon sick of rural amusements, and at a loss to while away the lingring hours, his fertile brain at length conceived the idea of a standing militia; no man

was ever more fond of the parade and shew of military exhibitions; and, in this department, he may truly say, Militavi non since gloria. I have been told, that he actually marched on foot, from Gloucester to London, at the head of the N*rf*k militia; and that at a time too, when he ran the risque of a censure, for not remaining at Q**** with the regulars. To these honors, to these everblooming laurels, I bow with all respect and admiration.

His faltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani Munere.___

Thus we are got to the noble l***'s first fecession from the army, and now we are to take him up in the *militia*, and fend him back to the army and regulars again. He secedes a discontented

Captain, (that is, with the rank of lieutenant colonel, as being in the guards) at the end of the peace; and in the middle of the fucceeding war, anno 1759, having acquired fome little interest with the minister, who was a slave to popularity, (and whom he has since abandoned and insulted, as he did his royal master formerly) through the step-ladder of the militia, mounted upon this stalking-horse, he solicits, with importunity, to be restored to his rank in the service he had quitted; not to

the

the rank he was in was in when he left it. which to grant, had been no inconfiderable favor in a fovereign; but to the rank these officers were in, whose commissions as lientenant colonels bore date with his own, and who by continuing on in the fervice, had rofe to a command; and thus he iffues forth at once a brigadier general of the forces, endued with all the experience, and all the warlike accomplishments of a country fox hunter.

It is faid when this unprecedented promotion was granted, at the importunity and repeated application of the minister, his late m- was heard to fay, "That if he must have rank, " he should go abroad and serve for it," and so ordered him to Q***** under the direction of the gallant and intrepid WOLFE, the greatest general perhaps, this, or any other age, has ever produced.

We are now come, I take it, to the æra in which the military prowefs of our Norfolk fportsman is most extolled, and when (if at any time) he may be faid to be in the zenith of his glory, and meridian of splendor. To his transactions, and wonderful operations and exploits at Q*****, this passage of applause, from the Irish address, must evidently allude:

"When we reflect on the important fer"vices and great military experience of your
"E— for many years in different parts
"of the globe, and on your happy fuccess in
"raising the fame, and extending the dominions
"of Great Britain; when we now see the
"fword of justice entrusted to the same per"on, who has constantly used the sword of
"war, for the honor of his sovereign, and the
"glory of his country, we must look up to your
"E— with the highest expectation and
"considence.*"

I am now to enter upon his conduct during that important fiege, and if that does not furnish out materials sufficient to support this Irish edifice of honor, I own I am at a loss to find them any where else; for Portugal and Germany were soils too barren to produce him laurels.

If then it should appear from the united testimony of most officers employed on that glorious expedition, that the new general, the k*nn*ll brigadier, was very seldom entrusted with any command; was very little consulted upon any operations; had no share in the considence or good opinion of that able judge of military merit, the commander in chief; that he was perpetually ridiculing the transactions of the army, and setting the gene-

^{*} See the character of Sancho, in the letter from the island of Barataria.

ral officers together by the ears, fowing difcord and jealousies amongst them; if these accusations and reports be true, then surely the glories, and trophies, and spoils, and conquests of this mighty CÆSAR, are no where to be found, unless in the visionary regions of Utopia; not in the inhospitable wilds and precipices of America.

Now if any person will give himself the trouble to read that inimitable letter of Mr. WOLFE's from before Quebec, and the several uncontroverted accounts of that expedition, he will find, and candidly own, that the chief officers employed upon any operation of consequence, were brigadier Murray, the colonels Carleton, and Howe; all of them subordinate in rank, to our Tallio commander; while general Monckton conducted the siege and batteries, playing from Point Levi upon the town.

By the untimely fall of Mr. Wolfe, we are deprived of an opportunity of thoroughly knowing all the particulars of the curious conduct of this man of applause, which, it was confidently said, would have been laid before the public had he lived. However, that he was most lightly thought of, that every day produced some extravaganza or eccentricity of behaviour, is notorious: that brigadier M—

and he were upon fuch terms as to live like dog and bear, publickly quarrelling in camp; that his unhappy temper led him into difputes with persons of very inferior rank, and this even on board the admiral's own ship, the Neptune, where he challenged the pilot, are things so commonly advanced by the gentlemen on that service, as scarcely to bear a contradiction, or to admit a doubt.

The only operation of confequence that he was defined to from his rank, and which ended without coming to action, was the march from Montmorency camp cross the ford, at the intended attack of the trenches, on the thirty first day of July. Mr. Wolfe had determined to attempt a landing, and, if possible, to bring to a general action, the army commanded by M. Montcalm (tho' deeply entrenched, and fecured by a long chain of redoubts and batteries;) for this purpose, the whole of his troops was ordered out, and brigadier Monckton from Point Levi, and the two brigadiers from Montmorency were to join him, at a certain time of the tide upon the northern shore; but the impetuofity of the grenadiers upon landing, who rushed on without forming, or waiting to be fuftained, is well known to have defeated the proposed affault, and the Montmorency-generals retired back to their camp, without the firing of a musquet.

In this camp indeed our brigadier was ufually very alert, for if a folitary favage did but pop his head out of a bush, smack says the general, with a cannon ball at his nose directly: this was represented to the commander in chief, as an idle waste of ammunition; (for our brigadier had not then been lieutenant general of the ordnance) and of no detriment or differvice to the enemy, against whom, except in parties, great that are rarely fired. Mr. Wolfe, on these occasions, was heard to reply,. 'Let him alone, let him divert and amuse him-'self, it is of no great consequence.' Mr. Wolfe was accustomed frequently to reconnoitre the shores and town, in a boat by himself, but our intrepid hero did not chuse to hazard his important person, without a guard of a serjeant and twelve men; and when at the admiral's table it has been asked, if any body knew where the general was? our brigadier's reply was infantly, " Reconnoitring, reconnoi-"tring: by and bye we shall have some Don " Quinote affault, some mad attack upon a wind-" mill, or words to that effect;" and I believe our puissant conqueror of the North will hardly venture to controvert this account.

These unfoldier-like reflections, (and for which indeed he was liable to the censure of a court martial, for speaking of the command-

er in chief, with difrespect, had he thought it worth his while to call a man whom he thoroughly despised, before one;) and his frequent imputations of madness to Mr. Wolfe were reported to the late k--g, upon which his m---y, it is said, pleasantly retorted, "If "WOLFE be mad, I wish he would bite "some other of my Generals."

The action on the plains of Abraham, and the furrender of the town in consequence, conclude the history of his exploits at Q—; and these we have his own account of, according to which it plainly appears, that he had no fort of merit in either landing the forces, drawing them up when landed, posting the troops, or winning the battle; but he had the great merit of stopping the victorious army in it's pursuit, and preventing the grenadiers and highlanders from storming the town, sword in hand.

He then fell to redoubting his camp (after a victory); the enemy offers to furrender, he agrees to the capitulation without confulting the commander in chief; writes a pompous letter to the fecretary of state; leaves the troops in garrison, and returns home to England to reap the laurels due to the immortal memory of Mr. WOLFE.

— moveat cornicula rifum Furtivis nudata coloribus ____

And now having given a little sketch of the wonderful exploits, and coups d'Eclat perform'd by the intrepid colonel of the N— squadrons, and which I trust is not at all exaggerated, let us congratulate his modest historian, on the lustre of his actions, which "beams a "glory over him, like that upon the oaks at "Kymberly, and sanctifies the shades."

O! mighty Cæfar, dost thou lie so low? Are all thy conquests, glories, trophies, spoils, Shrunk to this little compass! fare thee well.

And fare thee well, thou base and servile flatterer!

We now come to a laboured panegyric upon Sir A***** W*******, whom our painter daubs and plaisters over in the same fulfome, and nauseous manner, as the Qeneral; with as much propriety, and with equal truth.

"Honor has been hereditary in that family for feven hundred years, and till the noble inheritance be fquandered and bartered a-way, a Wodehouse can never solicit the honors of his country in vain? Page 9.

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

Allowing Sir A***** to be of a good family, and fprung from honorable ancestors, does this entitle him to a perpetual representation of the county of N——? by no means; his fervices, not his progenitors, must recommend him to that honor:

Non genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi Vix ea nostra voco

The great lord Townshend, in the reign of George the first, of glorious memory; acquired honors to himfelf and family, by supporting revolution principles, and by inflexibly adhering to the old whig interest: but the grandson, lying wifer and more experienced, abandons those queer principles, and that old fashioned interest, and chooses his own ground to stand upon. He values himself on no example of his ancestors? why therefore should Sir A****? By the same rule, animate but one of the venerable old oaks at Kymberly, and why not choose it representative for N-? It has stood with honor there for centuries perhaps, look'd green, and flourished to the eye; as yet knows no decay, and as yet has not degenerated by an unnatural transplantation amidst the Scotch Firs at R****m.

He ought to be held up as a man "Grown "old in their fervice;" there is just as much truth in this, as that another person alluded to a few pages further on is "Grown hoary in "the arts of defamation," who lost the colour of his hair by serving his country in the West Indies.

What are the fervices of Sir A**** that CROWN him with the honorable diffinction of a veteran in the duties of his country? enumerate a few, good parafite. Thirty years attendance in parliament, thirty years unwearied attention to the important trust reposed in him, must swell his catalogue of public virtues, and gild his escutcheon of pretence? how many turnpikes has he forwarded? how many commons has he fplit? how many florid fpeeches has he made in the defence of liberty and his country? how many votes has he given in the house, seperate and detached from Cocoa tree connections, and the known friends of the good old cause? how many conflitutional motions has he made against arbitrary power, in conjunction with his tory fquadron? how violently did he oppose the late most -- 's peace? how often was he at St. James's before the earl of B***'s accession to power? how many individuals of this great countr

county has he recommended or promoted? but I will ask no more.

Where is the vast merit of being unplaced, unpenfioned, un-ennobled? a place is no difhonor, if it brings not with it a blind compliance with ministerial directions, and a support of measures inconsistent with the public safety; on the contrary it makes a reprefentative more useful to his constituents? but what if a man devotes himfelf to an arbitary and defigning minister, whose measures are visibly incompatible with the freedom of the subject, and does this from party only? is he less blameable, or is he less dangerous? or less deserving to be rejected on a new election? where is the difference to the constituents whether their member be paid for supporting such obnoxious principles, or influenced by a prevailing faction? and laftly, what if thefe principles should be his own?

And is fuch a man to be supported by the illustrious blood of C*v****h! what can an honest whig conceive of that amazing inconfistency of conduct, which can influence the husband of a lady, who derives her origin from the firm patriots of 1688, to stoop, fo miserably low, as to hoop and hallow and run about the streets of a country town like a mad man, with his hat off, exciting a shout

from

from an intoxicated mob, in favor of the Anti-W*lp*l**n house of K*mb*rl*y? what could fo feduce, fo unaccountably delude a daughter of the good old steady revolutioner of Ch*tfw*rth to forego her principles, fly off from her honorable connections, revolt to an inveterate enemy, and embrace the exploded tenets and party of a non-refifting tory? what mean passion or pitiful motive of self interest, could tempt the high spirited fister of the warm and zealous duke, this country fo univerfally deplored, to cringe and truckle to a Sc**** dependant? to fall down and worship this N__ B_h idol? to bring her hufband's powers to raife up that very engine of arbitrary authority, which her noble minded brother, like a true born virtuous Englishman, laboured. to the last hour of his life to pull down? a C____fh to unfurl the tory standard, and wave it o'er her head! I fay, a tory standard, in defiance of the despicable, tho' artful affertions of Sir A-, who roundly declares as his opinion (that is, the opinion of his S- friends) "That the man who men-"tions the diffinction of whig and tory in thefe "times, is a R—or a Fool." I well remember there were people in 1745, who denied there was a rebel in the three kingdoms, at the same time the son of the late pre-G 2 tender

tender had proclaimed his father with open arms in Scotland; when this truth became too flagrant by the bold advances of the highlanders, then the harsh sound of rebels was soften'd down into the tender title of infurgents; Scotch rebels was too invidious a term.

This finesse, Sir A——, will not do; we are not to be so deceived, tho' you may be a little ashamed to shew your true colours: whigs and tories still remain, Sir; and thanks to heaven! there are numbers of the former still untainted, still un-torified, still un-im-BUTED with apostate principles, and still inflexibly attached to the religion, the laws, the LIBERTIES of their country.

In regard to pensions and peerages, if acquired by long services, they are no subjects of reproach. Lord Chatham has done signal services to his country, lord Chatham is a peer and a pensioner; and there is one great name, an honor to this county, who had his pension and his perquisite too; to whom posteririty will do justice hereafter, for his many public virtues, for his inflexible attachment to revolution principles, his steady support of the protestant succession, in the illustrious house of Hanover; his coolness of temper and moderation in times of party discord, and his unshaken

unshaken intrepidity in times of peril. This great man, and true friend to his country was,

Sir R O B E R T W A L P O L E: let no man blush to name him!

Virtutem incolumem odimus, Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.

As to Mr. Styleman's motion, the propriety of it will be best seen on the day of election; and therefore, as depending upon an uncertain event, we will pass it over at prefent. Page 10.

What an infolent reflection is brought in, head and shoulders, upon doctor Moore, with an impertinent infinuation to the disadvantage

of Mr Coke? Page 11. Dr. Moore is a gentleman of a very respectable character, and of a very respectable interest? he is master of possessions and an estate, that has produced candidates for this county, and is therefore most juftly entitled to recommend a candidate; any gentleman he had an opinion of, and to whom he intended giving that interest: I should imagine his being of a noble family in Ireland, in " defiance of Solomon" can be no objection; the ancestors of Mr. De G-might probably be Normans, yet I know no bar in that to his application as one candidate, any more than the reverend doctor's extraction from Ireland, can be urged as a bar against his recommendation of another? where is the novelty?

But to make amends for his impertment infinuation against Mr. Coke, he soon after allows him to be "a gentleman honorable in "himself, honorable in his connections, high "in the esteem of his own country, happy in "the love" of his neighbours, and deserved-

" ly

^{*} It may not be improper to observe to the reader upon this passage, that several emissaries have been detached, at different times, into <code>Derbyshire</code>, to enquire the character of Mr. Coke, and to pick up materials for slander; but returned home without a cargo. This disappointment has tended to mortify, not a little, Sir A——'s militia-bowman, and his drunken ally and amanuenss, since they were render'd incapable of drawing up any articles of impeachment against Mr. Coke in this publication, either of themselves, or thro' the generous assistance of their fair consederates at K———.

"Iy the object of our respect;" Page 11. now I will not be so ill-natured as to apply his own words to him: "here one ray of truth "broke half thro' the folid darkness of his "foul," Page 16. for I will readily acknowledge that the whole of the above passage is true, and that not one, but all the rays of truth had at that instant taken possession of his foul: I say at that instant, at the next, "his malevolence was at hand to extinguish the rising light." He gave the milk in plenty, but like the niggard mischievous beast, he kicks it down as soon as given.

Mr. Coke's place of refidence offends him, " it is distant three hundred miles," Page 11. Pray in the name of common fense let us ask this malicious scribler, how often, during the present parliament, applications and embaffies upon public bufiness of the county have been fent to Kymberley? to Merton? or from Norwich, to Earlham or Gunton? are not all addresses to members sent to the capital? do not all members from all parts, affemble there? and is not that the feat of business? where is your member to serve you but in Westminster? of what fignification is it where his country place of refidence is? in regard to parliamentary transactions it is of none, but in another respect it may, which probably our hungry

hungry author has his eye on; if our member has no house in Norfolk, he cannot give dinners to his electors quite so often.

But " he is forry to fee him lend his respec-" able name to a few families, to all of whom " he must one day be superior; forry to see " him act fo much beneath his dignity; forry to " fee him fink the weight of his family in the " foam* of other men's ambition." p. 11. Here is a true instance of Machievelian spirit! fow jealousies amongst them, divide et impera. Whenever I hear a man in party usher in a speech with the word forry, and an affected concern for a candidate's interest, I put that man down as an enemy, and that nothing would give him so much joy, as to see that very occurrence take place, which he pretends to lament. The word forry, is a forry word. I know a gentleman, not five hundred miles off, one of these very friendly mourners, who advised a candidate that had almost a certainty

^{*} I know not what the author could take this idea from, unlefs it be from the worthy Suffice with two supporters; who on the day of nomination literally foam'd at the mouth, with perpetual cries of Wodehouse for ever! Wodehouse! Aye, Sir! Yes, Sir! Right, Sir! Wodehouse, Sir! Very right, Sir! Wodehouse! Wodehouse for ever, Sir! We'll support you, Sir.

[&]quot;We'll support you, Sir! replies an honest freeholder with a loud laugh; why, Sir, your worship cannot support yourself; "you have neither money nor legs."

tribus anticyris caput infanabile!

of his election, (out of real regard to him) to defift; and called his best supporters a pack of f-s: I knew the same gentleman that very day, in the absence of his pretended friend, offer a fifty pound bank note to get two votes against him, out of fear that he should come in.

What is still more extraordinary is, that the fame gentleman pressed his pretended friend, the candidate, tho' very inconvenient to him, to take a bed at his house; and while he was fleeping (as he thought) under a friend's hospitable roof, this gentleman was giving a mortal stab to his guest, by secretly and ungenerously endeavouring to undermine his interest in that material point, which he had most at heart; and this, notwithstanding his warm protestations of regard and esteem for him, delivered; but a few hours before. He went even further if possible, declaring himself to be the candidate's enemy, his bitter and determined enemy; yet still carries on the outward face of friendship to him; and all it's treacherous and (too often captivating!) appearances.

Hic niger est! hunc tu, Romane, caveto.

Mr. COKE has joined himself to families and interests of as great weight as any in the county; there is no probability of his ever H

having

having any reason to repent his honorable connections. They are noblemen and gentlemen the first in character, and they are no friends to arbitrary measures of government, or unconstitutional stretches of authority.

We will excuse the author his concern for Mr. Coke, who may, perhaps, be too dangerous an opponent to his employers, and from whence his real apprehensions most probably arise; and now we will draw the curtain and close the gallery scene, the recollection of which, with the acclamations attending one set of gentlemen, and the general hiss, and moderate applause attending the other, may afford our author but little satisfaction. Mr. Dryden, had he been alive, might have thank'd him to have omitted those two miserable lines he has selected out of his admirable compositions,

'With an ill grace your friends their mischiefs do, 'They've both ill nature, and ill manners too.'

Ill natured people are without doubt, the people most inclined to do mischief, but who they are is not quite so clear; to be sure our author

is

^{* &}quot;The feeble efforts of the tools of General Warrants, and despotic administrations; the last faint gleam of an infolent, expiring, and despicable faction."

is very happy in his party; they are the best natured, best bred men alive, and were not the first to usher in personal abuse; they began with no defamatory songs, or private detraction of the new candidates; they had no malevolence of tongue or heart, and their bosons overflowed with the milk of human tenderness.

Rifum teneatis amici?

Our candid and impartial author, as he would be thought, Page 1, "whose reasoning " is urged with decency, nor is one expression " to escape him unbecoming his character," (pity! he would not give us some faint idea what his character is) Having slightly introduced HONESTUS, (a fignature few of his party care to make use of) for the fake of a long Latin quotation, no ways applicable indeed to the circumstance he vainly endeavours to ridicule; passes on to another combatant or adversary, against whom all the venom of his malignant foul, is collected and discharged; but like the serpent on the file, he wounds himfelf alone, and the blood that trickles down in crimfon currents is his own.

> Fragili quærens illidere dentem Offendet folido

The freeholder, the *lack*-land freeholder as he is pleafed to term him, combating on the

the fide of truth and liberty, has preffed the enemy too close; has unravelled all their plots, laid open their mischievous designs, discovered their weakness, and what is not to be forgiven, has cut off their retreat.* No wonder then that he is represented as a man "unawed by conscience, unchecked by modesty, unsilenced by conviction, advances to the charge with a malicious impatience, and perseveres in it with an unexampled insolence."

To these envenomed shafts, to this virulent and ungentleman-like abuse, he answers with the poet in the motto to this

Falfus honor juvat, et MENDAX INFAMIA terret Quem? nifi Mendosum et Mendacem?

The freeholder is as little disturbed at the latter,

as

* The only plaufible argument made use of in favour of the vote of the H. of C. to pottpone the confideration of GENERAL WARRANTS, was as follows:

"It was thought that this point would be more regularly determined in the Courts of Law, where it was THEN depending,"

Now the Freeholder has proved this affertion to be abfolutely

FALSE, by shewing,

as the vain glorious conqueror of Q____ is transported and exalted by the former. False honor, and unmerited abuse, alike 'play round' the head, but never touch the heart.'

The gentleman pointed at with this extreme degree of rancour, is what a stranger would scarcely credit, an officer who has served his country during the last war, with a reputation unimpeached; and, thro' the chance of destination, has been engaged in a severity of action, much beyond what his boasted general ever in his life experienced in his own person. His character throughout the whole of this infamous production, for so I shall distinguish it, at least as far as it concerns this gentleman, is villainously traduced, and wilfully misrepresented.

With regard to his writings during this contest of parties, it does by no means appear as yet, that his notions are false, or his arguments fallacious; for they have not been confuted hitherto, or indeed but little controverted; nothing has been advanced against his papers, but bold affertions unsupported by facts; quibbling and difengenuous advertisements from the old members; and despicable evasions from the prostituted pens of such party tools and instruments as our author; your passive obedience and non resistance gentlemen, ever the

foul accomplices of tyranny and oppression. Where has the conviction been dealt out for liberally, that was to filence this advocate for liberty and the conflitution of his country, and who in it's defence " advanced to the charge " with a malicious impertinence!" May the friends of liberty, and our much envied conftitution, ever exerc the fame malicious impertinence, and be as troublesome and as numerous as they are at present. The king of France complained to an Hibernian general in his fervice, that the Irish brigades "were repre-" fented to him as giving more trouble than all "the rest of his forces;" "all your majesty's " enemies fay the same, replied the general." Reproach and flander must be levelled against the freeholder, as truth and fact cannot be brought into the ranks against him; the lack land freeholder! who must not use his reafon, because he is not rich; 'tis insolence for him to dare to do it; aye, there's the rub! a poor man to prefume to think, to act, to explain, to recommend? to fet his face against oppression, and arrest the hand that offers violence to his country? to bare the bosom of the traitor and expose the lurking ruffian to the public vengeance? thefe are crimes that must not be forgiven in a man to whom the partial goddess of all worldly grandeur has dealt her favors with a sparing hand; yet we are told by authority, not to be questioned, "that the voice of a poor man, has faved a city in distress."

Let us then retort upon this malicious scribler, this foe inveterate to his country's freedom, and it's truest interest, his own injuririous accusations; and hurl them at his head with indignation and contempt. Let us give him out to the whole county, what he truly is, and walk him round with a description on his breast, pen'd in capitals of his own hand writing, 'till he is mark'd the object of universal scorn, as "a wretch unmoved by con-"science, unchecked by modesty, and unsi-"lenced by conviction."

This brings us to his malevolent attack upon the London letter of October 3, 1767, which is of a piece with all the rest. Here misrepresentation and evasion is called in again to his affistance, and the case of GENERAL WARRANTS, in desiance of known facts, and uncontroverted authorities, in desiance of all reason and argument, in desiance of all decency and repeated constitution; is falsely stated, wire-drawn, and fritter'd away by unintelligible distinctions, and impudent equivocations.

There is no position laid down in that letter, but what is warranted by past experience, and what cannot be denied but by the most hardened abettor of an arbitrary administration. Has not the over-ruling influence of the earl of B- (one of our author's most respectable characters) been univerfally complained of fince the prefent accession? is it not complain'd of to this hour? does he not turn in and turn out the fervants of the c- at pleafure*? have not his measures of administration been looked upon as tyrannical, arbitrary, and held in detestation by the public? have not all his proceedings tended directly contrary to, and counteracted the glorious principles of the revolution, which faved this country from destruction? has he not concluded, or been the principal adviser of a peace, by which the glory of the nation has been tarnished, and our valuable acquisitions sacrificed? our allies abandoned, our conquests ceded to the enemy? are not these FACTS? but our opponents love not to deal in facts; they hate them, and well they may, for they uniformly make against them, and are too stubborn to bend.

Magna est VERITAS et PREVALEBIT.

Our

^{*} The Earl of Buckinghamshire was dismissed Nov. 11, 1767, from his post as one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, for opposing the Thane, and his Scotch co-adjutors.

Our author deigns to form "a fyllogifin" from this letter to the freeholders of the county of Norfolk, dated October 3, 1767, how much foever he affects to despise it. Come my prince of logick, my distiller of fyllogisms, and who does the freeholder so much "honor" by methodizing an argument which all his sophistry cannot weaken: let us attend a little to this plausible arrangement.

"GENELAL WARRANTS are "illegal and unconflitutional. Granted.

"Sir A—— and Mr. De G—— voted in fa"vour of general warrants. Denied.

"Therefore they are to be avoided and re"jected as men dangerous to the constituti"on."

If the minor in his fyllogism is proved, the confequence must be admitted of course.

Sir A—— W—— did, beyond contradiction, give his vote, on the feventeenth day of February, 1764, that DAY OF TRIAL for the LIBERTIES of ENGLISHMEN, to "postpone the consideration of "GENERAL WARRANTS" 'till a day on which he knew the parliament would not be sitting; 'till what is called a long day; 'till that day FOUR MONTHS.

Ι

Our confederate authors will not dispute this fact I presume, it being every where acknowledged. Now the public, common sense, common candor, disinterested observation, uninfluenced reason, must determine, not our equivocating jesuistical disputants, whether

"The voting to adjourn that important queftion of GENERAL WARRANTS to
a LONG day, was, or was not, voting in

"FAVOR of General Warrants?

The scripture says, "He that is not for me, "is against me." Let our Jesuit produce a better authority.

Lord T—being then in the house of commons, Mr. De G—does not fall under this description; but he vindicates those meafures, and their supporters; he did it in the face of the county as before observed; of course he makes them his own, and therefore comes in for his share of the guilt; for nothing is more true than that,

The man who *speaks* in favor of General Warrants, oppressive measures, and dangerous unconstitutional designs, would *vote* in favor of them all; if opportunity offered, and he had a vote to give.

The unprejudiced part of the county reasoned thus on the day of nomination, October the eighth; and Mr De G— is therefore subject

fubject to, and ought to share, an equal proportion of that refentment, which shall, on account of this transaction, fall upon Sir Aon the day of election. I know not how it was, whether in complaifance to his nominator lord T-, who pricked him as his candidate, or to what other reason it may be owing, but Mr. De G-has appeared rather fond of introducing, and arguing upon, these horrid warrants, and always in vindication of them. At the mayor's feast at Lynn, on the twenty ninth of September, 1767, he took up his freedom, an honor conferred upon the steady whig his father, and in whose right he succeeded to it: one would have imagined that he had little to do on that occasion, but to return thanks to the corporation; but instead of that he flarted the subject of General Warrants, told his hearers that liberty was a matter of nice distinction, and not to be understood by every body, and launched out into a pompous harangue and justification of these warrants; and this was the more extraordinary, because it was in a place where the doctrine of General Warrants, and arbitrary measures, had been exploded and condemned; and a paper inscribed General Warrants in CAPI-TALS, BURNT in a bonfire not two years before on the public market hill, amidst the univerfal 'acclamations of the people.

Now I have mentioned lord T-on this occasion, as Mr. De G__'s principal, I shall just observe to our author, that his lord-Thip is the avowed abettor of the earl of B___ and acknowledges himfelf at this time to have been promoted to the vice royalty of Iby his fole recommendation and interest. Our author also is pleased to say, that the freeholder as above mentioned; is grown hoary in defamation: I defire he will please to recollect a few of the numerous exhibitions of this right honorable defamer, who may, with truth perhaps, be faid to have dealt more freely in fcandal than most others in this county; and, for ought I know, is at present the most virulent libeller in the three kingdoms. What eminent characters has he not suffered his audacious pencil to sport with? who of the first nobility has he not disfigured in his infolent caricaturas? has the R-F even escaped? no, not even the PRINCE*, whofe

^{* &}quot;No body appears to be more touched upon this unhappy cocafion than Lord Caricature, who is diffinguished for his warm zeal and friendship for the Favourite. This vain, infolent, splenetive creature's malignity, has led him to hold out the most respectable characters to vulgar scorn and ridicule; nay his rancour and malevolence carried him so far, as to burlesque our great and immortal deliverer from rebellion, because this libeller had been treated by him with the contempt he so justly deserved, and which indeed he receives universally.

whose bread he was eating, and under whose roof he was munificently lodged and entertained.

The author now proceeds to his flim'y and deceitful explanation of General Warrants, hackney'd down from the minister, to the lowest dependent on his power, with astonishing effrontery; and, as he himself expresses it, with " unexampled infolence." His arguments, or more properly, his quirks and quibbles, have been fo often exposed and confuted by the freeholder, and other writers on that fubject, that to give them a particular answer here, would be idle and infignificant, and to keep the attention of the reader, only to explain to him, what he is already convinced of, and has read before. I shall therefore content myself with annexing, by way of appendix at the end of these sheets, a few pages from that able lawyer, the author of the letter " Con-" cerning libels, warrants, feizure of papers, " and fecurity of the peace," a work read with avidity

[&]quot;univerfally. There is one circumftance however in the cha"rafter of this mean and despicable humourist, which is ridi"culous. Tho' he fickens at all merit, and is a friend to ar"bitrary and despinic measures, he attempted to court popularity
"by espousing a constitutional measure; but his natural info"lence, pride, and ill-temper are such, that he has failed of

[&]quot; all popularity and efteem, both in his own county, and every

[&]quot; where elfe."

avidity, univerfally applauded, and to this day uncontroverted; they will be a full answer to the futile arguments of this letter writer; and to all others who shall hereafter endeavour to puzzle and confound the minds of HONEST ELECTORS by vain conceits and laboured distortions of logick; by false-hood and misrepresentation; by a medley of nonsense and jargon, which they don't believe one single word of; and which are only thrown out as a temporary imposition on the publick, and to disturb the imagination of the uninformed.

Sir EDWARD ASTLEY is a gen--tleman whose ancestors have long represented this county in parliament: Sir Jacob Aftley was returned in the contested election of 1710, and what was more to his honor, was elected with Mr. De Grey, in the contested election of the year 1715; when the fuccession of the prefent Royal Family to the crown, in confequence of the act of SETTLEMENT, framed and carried thro' the legislative body by king William, and the revolution patriots, was openly opposed by force of arms and an unnatural rebellion. Sir Edward's family were ever men of revolution principles, as he professes himself to be in this his present application;

plication; Sir Philip Aftley in the memorable æra of 1734, with Mr. Philip, and Thomas Aftley, supported the interest of Mr. COKE and MORDEN, so they cannot be supposed to be of the number of those "Honest" ancestors, whose indignant spirits burst from their tombs, and shake their venerable heads to see their descendant starting aside like a broken bow, and become an instrument in the hands of a Morden."

Ampullas et sesquipedalia verba!

They voted for Morden, and therefore could not be supposed to condemn a conduct in their defcendant, which, when alive, they adopted themfelves. Some inter-marriages, or matrimonial connections with the house of Kymberley, might, at one time, draw off the Melton interest; but it must be remembered, that when that event took place, it was the first that any branches of the Melton family were united with men, confidered of anti-revolutional principles; or what was called the Tory party. The owners and heirs of Melton, were originally Whigs, and the family a Whig family throughout, 'till the æra now described: of course the obligation confered upon the house of Kymberly, by the Aftley's, in supporting their elections, was the greater; and especially as it was done at no inconfiderable expence. This will be allowed by every unprejudiced perfon, to have challenged as warm a return on the part of Sir Armine.

Sir EDWARD in every other respect as well as principle, is qualified to represent this county, and worthy of the important trust to be reposed in him: his property is great, his private character amiable, his disposition mild and even, his abilities unquestioned, his integrity untainted; of a courteous deportment, easy and affable to all: his censorious antagonist offers no attack upon him here: what avenue is there then open? can envy and malignity discover no approach to some unguarded part of him?

Yes, one there is, or one he would fain incline us to believe there is, and here the

battery of malice is directed.

"There was a time, fays he, when I should have rejoiced to have seen his interest rise in the county; there was a time when it depended on himself to raise it; had he pursued his declared intention on the death of lord Townshend, probably he would not have been opposed, most probably he would have succeeded." Page 15.

Reasoning upon probabilities, may mislead more than the dancing vapour of his ignis

fatuus,

fatuus, and in this particular case, is very sure to bring us into the dirt. Lord T-'s declarations have been fo often contradicted; his I-p has fo often contradicted himfelf; his own reports have been fo various and fo inconfiftent, that no opinion can with any certainty be formed; if there could, I think there was a greater probability that Sir Edward would have been opposed; as it is well known how anxious lord T-d was to introduce Mr. De G-y, and to divide and weaken the formidable interest of Sir Edward. Sir Henry L'Estrange, whose honour and veracity no one will call in question, declared to many gentlemen now living, that "Lord "T-d had promifed him, on his last " election, that if Sir Edward Aftley would " offer himself at the following one, he would " resign in his favor."

Our author fays, "Lord T——d" could not be prevailed upon to recollect his promise?" PREVAILED UPON to recollect his promise! what is the man "Of "so many illustrious virtues, both private and "public" (page 6.) so little to be depended upon, that he must be prompted into a recollection of himself? are his friends to be called in to revive in him the memory of his past

engagements? and even this without fuccess? What has his lordship drank so deep of the waters of Scotch oblivion, that no traces of a promise of his honor, that facred oath of p_s, are to be discovered? of his honor, pawned and engaged? or does the author mean he could not be prevailed upon to own his recollection?

But he further fays, 'What has lord Town'fhend to do with us and our representatives?'

I fay so too, and his lordship was of our opinion formerly, it being his declaration, not his private but his public declaration, (if it does not escape that treacherous memory also) 'that if he lived to be a p_r, and attempted to concern himself in the election of a commoner in this county, he sincerely wished he might be p_ upon in every village he passed 'through.'

Yet it is a notorious truth, and what our author dares not contradict, that this unhappy-minded n—n (I mean as to his recollection only) not only takes a part, a confiderable part at this juncture, in this contest, but also that Mr. D—G— was originally of his nomination before, as he is now; that Sir A— was threatened, not to say bullied, out of his attach-

Our author may in vain endeavour to conceal and hide from publick view the interested motives of Sir Armine's conduct; Sir Armine dare not boldly enter the lists, nor did he offer it, notwithstanding the positive affertions of the Letter-writer: to do him justice, his inclination might bias him to Sir Edward, but being of a timorous disposition, as he is universally known to be, he trembled to encounter his Right Honourable antagonists. This is the real truth, and the source of all that reluctance and uncertainty of conduct, which Sir A—— manifested in his conversation with Sir Edward and Mr. Milles. The suddenness

K 2

of the application furprized and disconcerted him; his natural want of refolution threw him out of himself; fear of losing his feat on a future contest, and the threats of his formidable opponents, staggered him, and in the end overpower'd all those favourable fentiments that gratitude to the Melton family had at first inspired; his luke-warm answers were not the effect of personal dislike to Sir Edward, his interest, or his friends; they were the effect of fear, and fear only; and if a paper war continues to another General Election, every thing wrote in contradiction to this position, will appear to an impartial and unprejudiced mind, to be meer fophistry, quibble, and evafion: it would not be more abfurd to affert, that the illustrious house of C-v-nd-sh is united in this contest with the house of K--y, out of pure regard to the true liberty of the subject, and from revolution-principles alone; and that no specious bait has ever been thrown out to work upon the tender feelings of two fond parents, or the hint of a young W_lp_le or T-nsh-d ever suggested, or had in idea, as joint candidates upon a future representation of this county.

Credat Judæus Apella.

Our author asks, 'If Sir Edward ever shewed an inclination to join Sir A-e 'till within a quarter of an hour before they went into the hall? I shall reply to this by another question? Did Sir Armine ever shew any in-'clination to join Sir Edward, not only 'till within a quarter of an hour before the meeting at the hall, but from the time of the Last election?" Where were Sir A——e's applications made? Where his vifits? to Melton or to R-m? Could Sir A-e be prefumed to act in favor of Sir Edward's interest, by perpetual expeditions to R-m or H-n? Or could any plan to draw with Sir Edward, be supposed to be laid, or formed at either place? I will refer myfelf to the candid reader for an answer, and rest upon his honest verdict. What does our scurrilous and fenfeless writer mean by saying, that Sir Edward 'had formed connections inconfistent with the honor of Sir A-?' I am fure this question of his will puzzle and perplex more of his readers than myself; but'tis possible he might be a little over-taken at the time he composed this unintelligible part of his empty performance, and his crony and boon companion the bricklayer, had kept him up too late the preceding night at all-fours; or that his foft affistant, whom envy, pride, or malice never influenced against the dictates of his heart, who hates an argument even tho' it were to win a freeholder, might have been detached upon some militia command at a distance, or was posting thirty miles into the country, upon some party-session of the peace. These satalities might have occured, and we all know that however built for shallow waters and to draw but little, the lightest skiff without a rudder, will settle upon some flat, perhaps with dissiculty to be got off.

That Sir Armine has deferted his friends, or that he has attached himself principally to lord T——d, is, and has been, visible to the whole county for some time past, and to attempt to prove it, is like proving the sun to shine, when there are no clouds in the horizon to obstruct his meridian rays, and you actually feel his melting power upon you.

That Sir Edward may have been deceived by lord T——, may bear an argument, but no man in his fenses will ever believe that Sir A—— has been abandoned by Sir Edward: I never heard that Sir Edward was upon any private treaty at Sh—m, H—h—m or elsewhere, to defeat the just pretensions of Sir A—— to the public favour: no Melton engines were ever employed to undermine and blow up the fortifications of K——y.

Let us recur back a little to Sir A___'s behaviour in 1747. At this ærathe late earl of Buckinghamshire, and the late Lord Townshend, publickly folicited votes in favor of their eldeft fons: Sir Armine took the alarm, and flew for relief to Mr. F_ll-s; Mr. F-ll-s promifed his affistance, and Mr. B-xt-n stood by him also on this emergency: Did the Melton family defert him, or he them, on that interesting occafion? Or did they utter lukewarm promifes of fupport, and give faint glimmering hopes, of future friendship? No, on the contrary they were fleady and firm to their alliance, they broke no treaties, they deceived no party. How did Sir A ____ act? On the day of Nomination, the weathercock at K-y shifted: The wind blew fresh, and irresistibly from another quarter: He drop'd Mr. F_ll_s, Mr. B-xt-n, and their connections, and went over to Lord T---d, flruck with a panick, and hid himself deep in the ranks of the enemy. They brought him out in the face of the publick afterward, as his defertion had confiderably weakened the opposition intended against them, for they loved the tr---n, tho' they despised the T----r. They have supported him ever fince from the fame motive, and R ____ m has been his head Quarters from that hour to this.

In the present Contest, Sir A declares early for Mr. D—G—: This, I suppose, he justifies from the pleasing recollection that the father of Mr. D—G— declared against him as Candidate with Lord Coke in 1741, and also that the father of Sir Edward stood by him at that juncture, and indeed all others. Mr. F—Il—s and Mr. B—xt—n join Sir Edward in present contest, and oppose Sir A——.

From the above representation, and I trust it is a true one, I will appeal to the candid reader, if Sir A—— has any right to tax Sir Edward, Mr. F—II—s, Mr. B—xt—n, and probably many others connected with those gentlemen, with deserting him at this criss? And whether the charge of abandoning former connections, former friends, and former principles, is not more applicable, and with greater propriety and justice to be imputed to the house of K——y, than the house of Melton?

Hear all, and then let reason hold the scale.

 themselves." If not, a line from Lady W—
to Lord B—te, or the Duke of B—d, or
one from Sir Armine to the same public spirited ministers, and also to Lord H—nd, that
Prodigy of true Patriotism! will do the business,
or t'other jolly bout at Bloomsbury, if the Knight
be not too early overtaken; if so a trip at their
Levies as usual, will carry it thro' effectually.
Lord H—ll—nd remembers his friend Sir
Armine as far off as Nice, writes to support
him, and him only. O! Sir Isaac will certainly
be a Baronet! Ch—s T--wnsh--nd is now no
more!

If Sir Edward has now formed 'Measures' inconsistent with the honor and interest of Sir 'A——e' the county will glory in the accufation, and the friends of Sir Edward be proud to own the charge; for the late measures of Sir A——e and his new allies, have proved themselves of a nature, no ways beneficial to the county of Norfolk, or the kingdom. His support of GENERAL WARRANTS, and an arbitrary S—h administration will never recommend him to the applause of his Norfolk constituents, however harmonious the sweet notes of tyranny and oppression, may sound in the Irish ears of the Th—s despotic, and despicable deputy at R——.

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It is no reflection upon Sir Edward, that he now opposes Mr. De G——, to whom he declined all opposition before: he then confidered him as an independent country gentleman, and not as the substitute of lord T——d, or as a partisan of lord B——; and a supporter by inclination as well as influence, of arbitrary measures of government.

He was guilty of no revolt, he abandoned no fortrefs; but he found a mutiny rifing amongst the troops, and his principal ally in private correspondence with the enemy; in a word, he saw Sempronius dressing in the robes of Juba; he was ill-served by those he most depended upon, and was obliged to consent to the surrender of the town, before he was properly put at the head of the garrison.

The author concludes his character of Sir A_____e, by observing that 'he has uniformly for upwards of thirty years, supported the liberty of the people, and the just authority and real dignity of the crown.' His conduct in the affair of General Warrants, and his attachment to the Th_e and his Cocoa Tree connections, will best explain these two articles of recommendation: In regard to crown measures, or what are called the acts of administration, it is well known that he was

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uniform in his opposition to them, and never gave a vote in favor of any one ministry whatever, 'till the present accession: I hope the county will reward his merit as it deferves.

The Author, to finish, as he set out, with unprovoked scurrility, cannot take his leave of Mr. Buxton, whom he sawns upon like a base and crouching spaniel, that dreads the whip at one time, and impotently snarls at it in a moment after, without recurring to the first object of his rage, the stubborn audacious Freeholder, whose galling fire has not yet been silenced by a long chain of batteries, masqued and open, that party virulence has raised against him.

Non civium ardor, prava jubentium, Non vultus instantis tyranni, Mente quatit solida;——

This is the man to be run down, to be blacken'd with all publick, all private fcandal; his infolent efforts in the cause of liberty, of honor, of his country, are crimes never to be forgot, or to be forgiven; and the less so, because he L₂ fights fights under the banner of Truth, refiftless truth; ever victorious, because snvulnerable: our caviller and his confederate friends of the Plaid have found the shafts of truth too keen, too well directed, and the sore still festers in their canker'd bosoms:

Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.

Having taxed Mr. Buxton (p. 22) with "deferting his 'Old friends, and old cause, which he impudently stiles the cause of virtue and of honor, and more impudently, the cause of Liberty and his country," in defiance of General Warrants, Stamp-Acts, Extensions of Excise, illegal Stretches of Authority, extensions of power, almost Inquisitorial, he makes his lunge at his mortal enemy the Lackland Freeholder, whose character he obliquely compliments at the time he most intends to wound it. He accuses Mr. Buxton of 'throwing himself into the arms of the Freeholder:' was this true, it would be a higher compliment than he would choose to make; but, unfortunately, he is as little to be relied upon in this affertion, as in all the past. Mr. Buxton, whose reputation is too exalted, to be reached by the longest arrow in his envenom'd quiver, tho' feather'd from the Grey-goofe wings of his whole party, wants no advocate to defend or varnish over that conduct.

duct which he has thought proper to adopt, and which every difinterested man of honor must approve of; the cause he has espoused cannot be controverted to be the cause of liberty and the people, and the candidates he fupports, are gentlemen of unblemished integrity; whom he is attached to, from an opinion that they will fleadily in parliament promote the true interest of this county. Mr. COKE is now in parliament, and gave a damnatory vote against all General Warrants, and unconstitutional proceedings, on the ever memoraable 17th of February 1764; his past behaviour in the fenate, of course entitles him to the applause and support of all good men, unprejudiced and enlightened, like Mr. Buxton; Sir EDWARD ASTLEY for the first time offers his fervice to the public; he professes himfelf to be a determined friend to the CON-STITUTION of his country, to the FREE-DOM and RIGHTS of the people, and to be actuated by REVOLUTION principles; and these are the principles which alone have faved, and can in any time of danger, fave this distracted country from slavery and ruin, and from becoming, past redemption, a miserable and tributary province to the crown of France. Mr. Buxton can affign his reasons, (and most probably has done it often) with greater propriety than any other person; and is never at a loss to approve to the world, the rectitude of his political engagements.

But Mr. Buxton 'despises the person, and abhors the character' of the gentleman alluded to: 'till Mr. Buxton openly arows that contempt, and proclaims that detestation, this malevolent and despicable railer has no right to give it out, or spread so mischievous a report.

His more private accusations are false and villainous, and must be propagated against the conviction of his own corrupt, malicious and hardened heart: In those infamous affertions he gives his conscience the Lye, and knowingly commits a greater outrage against the family he professes to esteem, than any part of it has ever suffered else where.

The liberties the author has thus taken in the dark with this gentleman, are as observed before, such as he dares not avow in publick to his person; for Cowardice and Falshoood, Fear and Baseness most commonly are found united; the act of affassination in murders is ever committed thro' the pusillanimous directions of some rank Poltron.

The gentleman who is supposed to be the subject of so much slander and ill-nature, as is vented here, was brought up at the university; is of a good family, and had facrificed his in-

terest with the late earl of O____, the auditor of the exchequer, (and who had of courfe great opportunities of providing for young people;) to his friendship, to the present lord .T : by whose connections, he was taken from college at a minute's warning, and fent abroad upon a wild Goofe chace, and without provision, or any fixed establishment. ordered to make the campaign of 1741; the expences of which, he has never been reimburfed to this hour; and which have remained a debt upon him ever fince, encumbered him throughout life, and ruined him the very first year of his setting out in it, without the least impeachment on his conduct, on the contrary, with letters of approbation, now in his possession.

It is true he was not long deceived in his expectations from lord T——, he very early discovered that nobleman's disposition, and from the following occurrence.

Bruffels, to meet his l—— at the hotel de Flandres, at his request: he staid a day or two, and was then for returning: his l—— pressed him to go with him to Ghent, to see the inauguration of the queen of Hungary. He declined it, upon not having more money than

was fufficient to carry him back to Antwerp; ' never mind money, I will fupply you, I have enough, was the answer.' He went: on his return to Bruffels, on application to his I_____ and that for no more than three or four ducats, he was refused, and to his astonishment with this answer; 'This is ever the case, peo-' ple run themselves into distress, and then are ' angry that their friends will not relieve them · in their extravagance.' At this time, (his l____ excepted) this gentleman was a stranger at Bruffels, not acquainted with a foul he could ask a favor of that kind from; he said, as he Should be back again the following week, at Brusfels, he would leave his bill at the Hotel de Flandres, 'till he returned; the friendly anfwer was, ' if you do, the people of the house ' will look very Jby upon you.' Not knowing what to do in this unexpected dilemma, or where to go, he turned into the coffee house, met a gentleman just arrived who supplied his wants, and the next day he departed for Ant-In less than a week he was ordered to Brussels, and had then in his purse one hundred ducats; at the Hotel de Flandres his l--- was still remaining, and the evening he arrived, had loft at play more money than he had at command. Soon after, this gentleman was called out by a waiter, and introduced into a private room, where, to his great amazement his l——p was, who related to him his diftrefs, and defired him to lend him ten Ducats. This was inftantly complied with, and taking out his purfe of one hundred ducats, beg'd his L——'to take what part of it he 'pleafed, or if he wanted it, to take the whole;' his L—— took ten ducats, which afterward were repaid.

On his return to England, after the campaign of 1744, he was in hopes of having justice done him by the people who sent him out, but nothing was done for him, and so he was left by his Right Hon. family to struggle through the miseries and difficulties they had plunged him into, and which have remained with him throughout life: notwithstanding, his behaviour (however vilified he appears to be by this ungenerous traducer) has recommended him so far to the notice of persons of interest, that he has rose to the rank of a Captain in the service; and this will be, perhaps, allowed to be some degree of merit, where fortune was so totally wanting to his assistance.

Haud facile emergunt quorum virtuiibus obstat Res angusta domi ———

M The

The earl of Buckinghamsbire, and Mr George Hobart, have condescended to recommend and promote this gentleman: they have been his most immediate friends, and happy should he ever think himself, could he in the smallest degree repay the great obligations he has received from them: still more happy is he to find them joined in the spirited opposition now so generally carried on against the fervile, self-interested instruments of S---- oppression, against the base betrayers of the PUBLIC TRUST, of the LIBERTIES of the PEOPLE, of the PROSPERSTY of the KINGDOM.

Success attend these, and all other the illustrious supporters of the cause of virtue and their country, wherever engaged! The times have been, and still are full of DANGER,

and

They faw the very first opportunity laid hold on to revive the doctrines of a dispensing power, state necessity, areana of government, and all that clumfy machinery of exploded prefrogative, which it had cost our ancestors so much toil and treaffure, and BLOOD, to break to-pieces. This we suffered with our usual patience. They saw an attempt made to render all the maked property of the kingdom lose and inscure, and to turn our national funds from being supports of public cyclic into informments.

I wish with all my heart that our time may surnish no such examples: and yet I confess my sears are excited by appearances that are sufficiently alarming. The people of England have seen an administration formed, almost avowedly, under the direction of a dangerous, because private and unresponsible influence; and at the same time with an outward presultancy of ministerial despotism, which by its very nature annihilated all public council. This they endured. They saw a course of the most scandalous and corrupt profusion of public money that ever was KNOWN in the kingdom, attended with such a neglest of every public duty, as if an experiment was intended to try how far the state could subsist by its own strength, without any of the usual aids of astrive government. The PEOPLE of ENGLAND bore this likewise.

and had we not been bleffed with a most gra-

' instruments of ministerial power, and to take away that depen-'dence upon LAW which had been in all ages the great SOURCE of our domestic happiness, and that firm reliance upon PUBLIC faith which has been the means of making us RESPECTABLE to all the world. The Englishman fill con-' tinued fullen and filent.

'Those very circumstances which strike terror iuto the heart of a wife man, are often fuch as inspire fools with confidence and prefumption. Having had fufficient proof as they thought, of the passive disposition of their fellow citizens, and at a loss ' for presedents of despotism of a modern date in any civilized 'country, they begun to ranfack the stores of antiquated 'oppression, and ventured to perpetrate an act (by a sin-' gular composition) of such consummate audacity and meanness

of fpirit, as it might well be thought impossible to unite.

'In fubferviency to the O IOUS INFLUENCE under which they act, this Administration dared—to an Informer nearly " allie I to that very influence-at the time, and for the purpose of 'an El. Eticn-refuling to hear Counsel-not daring to take the opinion of the K-'s law fervants-denying access to the Re-' cords in their possession—to pass a GRANT of the ESTATE of a NOBLE and most RESPECTABLE PERSON, derived from a King, to whom we owe ALL OUR LIBERTIES, SIXTY-THREE years in undiffused possession, the subject of · frequentSettlements, and nowactually a part of the OINTURE

of a noble D-fs. 'The pupile of ENGLAND at length began to break filence. They might indeed look upon the private wrong as a matter of 'inward meditation, and a further exercife of their patience.

* But the principle of this grant has given a SHOCK TO THE * WHOLE LANDED PROPERTY OF ENGLAND.

' Called upon by this practical menace to all landed property, and by many other detached grievances arising from the same ab-' furd and TYRANNICAL principle, THAT NO LENGTH · OF POSSESSION SECURES AGAINST A CLAIMOF THE 'C-N, one of the ableft, most virtuous, and most temperate men in the kingdom, supported by a steady band of · UNIFORM PATRIOTS, has made an attempt in a certain great Affembly (without providing any remedy for this cafe of oppression) to secure the subject at least for the future against such ' wild and indefinite Claims.

"Such was the Spirit which manifested itself upon that occusion, that though for the prefent, after a glorious flruggle, they have failed, there is no fort of doubt, that the CRY of REASON, JUSTICE, POLICY, and the GENERAL FEELING of the

· PEOPLE,

cious and accomplished prince, who owes his

- " PEOPLE, will shortly prevail; and the rather, as this discussion
- has brought to light FURTHER DESIGNS of the most ex-
- tracrdinary nature, and fuch as will, if not timely prevented,
- · SPREAD DISTRACTION FROM ONE END OF THE
- 'KINGDOM TO THE OTHER."

Advertisement of his G— the D— of P—tl—d to his Forest Tenants.

London, Jan. 30, 1768.

"Whereas the L— of the T— have thought proper to grant unto Sir J— L—,* Bart, a leafe of the crown's fuppefed interest in the forest of —, in the country of C—— and the Manor of Socage of the ——, with their respective Appurtenances: And whereas the said Sir J—— has given notice and warning to all tenants of, and resiants within the said Forest and Manor; and to all Farmers, and occupiers, of any lands and tenements, parcel of the said possessions, that they do not pay any rents, or sines to any p rson, or persons whatsoever, not legally authorised to receive the same by him; or do, or persorm, any suit, custom, or service, at any court, held otherwise than by virtue of, and under the authority of the said lease, as they will answer the contrary at their own peril, and make themselves liable to pay the same over again."

I therefore think it necessary to inform all such tenants, and other persons above-mentioned, that I do not acquiesce under such lease, or relinquish my right to, and possession of, the Forcit, Manor or Lands, above-described: and I surther think it my duty, as their friend, to remind them, that my claim is sounded on a grant made in the last century by King WILLIAM III. to my great Grantsaher, and his heirs for ever, and confirmed by an uninterrupted possession of more than SIXTY YEARS: and therefore I advise them, to pay no regard to the said notice, and assure them, that in consequence of their so doing, neither their persons nor presentes, can or shall be affected, as I am determined to defend their rights, and my own.

* S-in-law to L-B-.

throne to REVOLUTION PRINCIPLES, and who of course abhors unwarrantable acts of power, who is there among us can say but long e'er this our melancholy morning reflection had been, and miserable evening exclamation,

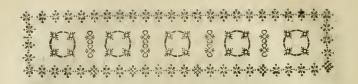
Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium, et INGENS GLORIA Teucrorum —

While Tories, torified Whigs, avowed Papists, suspected Jacobites, and pardon'd Rebels, had seized the helm of government; tore up the sundamentals of the constitution; spread rapine and desolation around the land; and, in the end, had buried their own vile, corrupt, and despicable carcases, under the ruins of the NOBLEST EDIFICE in the world, ENGLISH LIBERTY.

Dii! talem avertite casum!

A Hanoverian Whig.

London, March 5, 1768.



Postscript.

S the infatuated and mercenary disputants in favor of those abominable engines of oppresfion, GENERAL WARRANTS, have on all occasions founded the cry of PREJUDGE-MENT, tho' it has been proved beyond contradiction by the Freeholder and others, that lord chief justice PRATT declared them from the bench to be, both UNCONSTITUTIONAL and ILLEGALL, on the fixth day of December, 1763, and that the House of Commons did not enter upon the debate, or consideration of their illegality, 'till the fourteenth of February, 1764, (above TWOMONTHS afterward;) it may not be improper to fubjoin to these remarks, the following passage in the PROTEST of the HOUSE of PEERS, on the twenty ninth of November, 1763.

"And it must be farther considered, that this "House (the House of Peers) is thus called upon

" to give a fanction to the determinations of the "other, who have not condescended to confer with us "upon this point, 'till they had PRE-"JUDGED IT THEMSELVES!"

This protest was universally supposed to have been drawn up by that great lawyer, the late lord CHANCELLOR HARDWICKE, is enrolled upon the Journals of the Lord's House, and is now standing out against all vindicators of the proceedings of the Hamber of Common and its two hundred and thirty four postponing members on the score of Prejudgement to this very Hour; being an irrefragable Argument, and a Proof clear to demonstration,

"That the H_ of C_ did not flick at prejudging, when they liked the matter in hand. And indeed it cannot be supposed, that any of their members who were so forward and ready to prejudge, on November 29, 1763, could be very nice and scrupulous in prejudging on Feb. 17, 1764: had the Motives been the same, and the matter in hand as agreeable, the argument of Prejudgment, it is plain from the above PROTEST, would never have stopped them.

How vain and impotent are all evalions, when FACT is brought against them! How despicable the instruments of misrepresentation, when TRUTH stares them in the FACE.

London, March 7, 1768. NORFOLK Candidates and Members who voted AGAINST General Warrants.

WENMAN COKE, Efq; CANDIDATE for the COUNTY of Norfolk.

BOROUGHS.

The Hon. THOMAS WALPOLE, Candidate for LYNN.

Right Hon. Sir EDWARD WALPOLE, Member for YARMOUTH.

The Hon. HORATIO WALPOLE, Member for LYNN.

Right Hon. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY, AUBREY BEAUCLERK, Efq; Members for THETFORD.

CHARLES TOWNSHEND, Efq; Member for YARMOUTH.

City of NORWICH.

HARBORD HARBORD, Efq.

NORFOLK Members, whose names are NOT to be found in the list of TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY Representatives, who were THE MINORITY on February 17, 1764; and who bravely stood up in defence of the Rights and Privileges, and LIBERTY of the SUBJECT, when attacked by an arbitrary and corrupt S— administration.

The

[09]

The Hon. GEORGE (now Lord) TOWNSHEND, Sir ARMINE WODEHOUSE, Bart.

Members for the COUNTY of Norfolk.

BOROUGHS.

Sir JOHN TURNER, Bart. Member for LYNN.

City of NORWICH.

EDWARD BACON, Efq;

THOMAS DE GREY, Esq; was elected in the room, and on the interest of Lord Townshend. Not being in the House of Commons, he did not vote in favor of GENERAL WARRANTS: he only spoke twice in favor of them, viz.

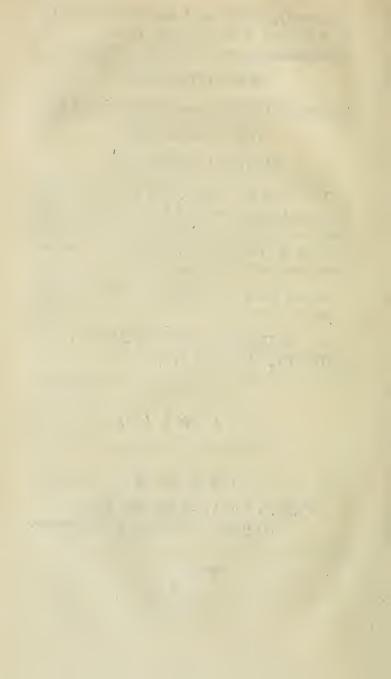
At the MAYOR's Feast at LYNN, Sept. 29, 1767.

On the Day of NOMINATION for the COUNTY, Ostober 8, 1767.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 40, line 8, for Non read Nam.
44, line 23, for Perquisite read Peerage.



APPENDIX.

CONSISTING OF

EXTRACTS

FROM THE CELEBRATED

LETTER

CONCERNING

LIBELS, WARRANTS,

AND THE

SEIZURE of PAPERS,

Which has fully explained the Cafe of

GENERAL WARRANTS,

PROVED THEIR ILLEGALITY,

And has hitherto remained Uncontroverted.

, ,

FURRY IN LURENT

January College Barrier



Appendix.

COPY OF THE

GENERAL WARRANT,

By the illegal Authority of which

JOHN WILKES, Efq;

Member for AYLESBURY,

Was SEIZED in his OWN HOUSE.

- GEORGE MONTAGUE DUNK, Earl
 - of HALIFAX, Viscount Sunbury, and
 - Baron Halifax, one of the Lords of his
 - 'Majesty's most honourable Privy Council,
 - Lieutenant General of his Majesty's forces,
 - ' and principal Secretary of State.
- 'HESE are in his Majesty's Name to authorize and require you (taking a consta-
- ble to your affiftance) to make first and di-

'ligent fearch for the authors, printers, and 'publishers of a seditious and treasonable pa-' per intitled the North Briton Numb. 45. Sa-' turday April 22, 1763, printed for G. Kearsly 'in Ludgate-street, London, and them, or 'any of them, having found, to apprehend or feize together with their papers, and to bring in fafe custody before me, to be examined concerning the premifes, and further ' dealt with according to law. And in the due ' execution thereof, all Mayors, Sheriffs, Juf-' tices of the peace, Constables, and all other 'his Majesty's Officers civil and military, and 'loving fubjects whom it may concern are to be aiding and affifting to you, as there shall be occasion, and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at St. James's the 26th ' day of April, in the 3d year of his Majesty's DUNK HALIFAX. reign.

To Nathan Carrington, John Money, James Watfon and Robert Blackmore.

Copy of the commitment of Mr. Wilkes to close custody in the Tower of London.

CHARLES earl of EGREMONT and
 GEORGE DUNK earl of HALIFAX,

' Lords of his Majesty's most Honoura-

ble Privy Council and principal Secretaries of flate.

'These are in his Majesty's name to autho-'rize and require you to receive into your ous-

' tody

tody the body of John Wilkes, Etq; herewith fent you, for being the author and publisher of a most infamous and seditious libel,
intitled the North Briton, Number 45, tending to inflame the minds and alienate the
affections of the people from his Majesty,
and to excite them to traiterous insurrections
against the government. And to keep him
fafe and close, untill he shall be delivered by
due course of law; for so doing this shall be
your warrant. Given at St. James's the 30th
day of April, 1763, in the third year of his
Majesty's reign.

EGREMONT.
DUNK HALIFAX.

To the Right Honourable Lord John Berkeley of Stratton, Constable of his Majesty's Tower of London, or to the Lieutenant of the said Tower or his Deputy.

I will now, for a moment, suppose that this gentleman had actually wrote, in the hours of his wantonness or folly, something that was really abusive and scandalous upon some particular minister, or upon the administration in general. Even in such a case, would any gentleman in this kingdom rest one minute at case in his bed, if he thought, that for every losse and unguarded, or supposed libellous expression, about party-matters, he was liable

not only to be taken up himself, but every secret of his family made subject to the inspection of a whole Secretary of State's Office, or indeed, of any man or minister whatever, whilst a parliament was sitting, or had even

an existence in the country?

Such a vexatious authority in the crown, is inconfistent with every idea of liberty. It feems to me to be the highest of libels upon the conflitution, to pretend, that any usage can justify such an act of arbitrary government. The laws of England, are fo tender to every man accused, even of capital crimes, that they do not permit him to be put to torture to extort a confession, nor oblige him to answer a question that will tend to accuse himself. How then can it be supposed, that the law will intrust any officer of the crown, with the power of charging any man in the Kingdom (or, indeed, every man by possibility and nobody in particular) at his will and pleafure, with being the author, printer, or publisher of such a paper, being a libel, and which till a jury has determined to be so, is nothing; and that upon this charge, any common fellows under a general warrant, upon their own imaginations; or the furmifes of their acquaintance, or upon other worse and more dangerous intimations, may, with a strong hand, scize and carry off all his papers; and then at his trial produce these papers, thus taken by force from him, in evidence against himself; and all this on the charge of a mere misdemeanor, in a country

of

of liberty and property. This would be making a man give evidence against himself, with a vengeance. And this is to be endured, because the prosecutor wants other sufficient proof, and might be traduced for acting groundlessly, if he could not get it; and because he does it,

truly, for the fake of collecting evidence.

I should not have given myself the trouble of saying thus much in so plain a matter, had it not been for a letter which was printed some time ago, upon this subject, with the names of two noble lords, secretaries of state, subscribed. It is directed 'to Mr. Wilkes,' dated 'Great' George-street, May the 7th, 1763,' and contains the following expressions:

'SIR,

'In answer to your letter of yesterday, we acquaint you, that your papers were seized in consequence of the heavy charge brought against you, for being the author of an intamous and seditious libel, for which, notwithstanding your discharge from your commitment to the Tower, his Majesty has ordered you to be prosecuted, by his Attorney-general. Such of your papers as do not lead to a proof of your guilt, shall be restored to you: Such as are necessary for that purpose, it was our duty to deliver over to those, whose office it is to collect the evidence, and manage the prosecution against you. We are

' Egremont.'
' Dunk Halifax.'

Here now is a clear avowal of the principle of taking these papers. The evidence indeed, seems to have been collected with as much force, and I believe with as little right by law, as some other collections are made for which the collectors are hanged when taken. I cannot but say, therefore, I am very glad this letter has been published, that the Public may see what is the notion of law in those political offices, that are now attempting to prove their lawless practices to be the ancient common law of the Land.

In fuch a party-crime, as a public libel, who can endure this affumed authority of taking all papers indifcriminately? When, in such a crime as forgery, or any other felony; or even in that dangerous crime, high treason, by correspondence with traitors, or the king's enemies, all men would cry out against it, and most defervedly! Nothing can be touched, without some criminal charge in law specifically sworn against it. And where there is even a charge against one particular paper, to feize all, of every kind, is extravagant, unreasonable, and inquisitorial. It is infamous in theory, and downright tyranny and despotism in practice. We can have no positive liberty or privacy, but must enjoy our correspondencies, friendships, papers, and fludies at diferetion, that is, at the will and pleasure of the ministers for the time being, and of their inferior agents!

Had Charles the fecond thought his miniflers intitled to this prerogative, he would not

have

have reforted to parliament for fweeping warrants, to fearch for and feize all feditious and treasonable books and pamphlets. His meffenger of the press would have ranged through the shops of the booksellers and printers, and the studies of disaffected persons, that is, of sticklers for liberty, upon the mere warrant of a Secretary of State, or privy counsellor, with-

out the aid of a licenfing statute.

And let me here ask a question. If a libel be no actual breach of the peace, and sureties for the peace, or the behaviour, be not demandable of the supposed libeller; by what colour of law, or by what warrant, or capias, can any man, charged as the writer or publisher, have his doors or locks broken open, for the apprehension either of himself or his papers? Can such force be authorised by virtue of any legal process whatever, in this species of misdemeanor, before verdict, nay before judgment*?

Never-

^{*} In a printed account of the transaction of Mr. Wilkes's case, it is stated thus: 'The 25th of April, a general Warrant was issued against the Authors, Printers, and Publishers of No 45, and 49 Persons were apprehended by it before the 29th, and among them a reputable tradesiman. This last was taken out of bed from his wise and a child dangerously ill, his house disordered and his papers ransacked, and his person detained three days after his innocence known. The 29th the Secretaries of State received complete information that Mr. Wilkes was the author and publisher; and, the general warrant still remaining in the messengers hands, by virtue thereof, on the 30th, Mr. Wilkes's house was forcibly entered, his doors and locks broken open, all his papers thrown into a fack and committed to the hands of common messengers, without any schedule or security

Nevertheless, I have heard, that a candid lawyer has lately engaged for the feizure of papers, declaring 'no government can stand without fuch a power.' But the speech or the scripture of a trimming man, is not, I hope, to be counted for gospel. And, I am clear, that many glorious governments have flood without it, and that no administration or government ought to stand, that wants it. However, it is eafy to foretel that fo flattering a fubfcriber to any political tenets, cannot long himself withstand any thing. He would be able, I should think, if occasion presented, to throw himself at the feet of any Majesty, with as much affection and ardency, as the most prostrate or adulatory of Hague ministers. An outward decency and deliberation, in every

for the return of them. Mr. Wilkes himfelf was carried before Lord H. where it was immediately made known, that an Habeas Corpus was applied for and expected every moment, but, to avoid the effect of that writ, he was hurried away to the Tower, and there all accefs was denied to him, as well as the use of pen, ink and paper.' And I will add, from my own knowledge, that those who had the searching of his papers divulged the contents of some private letters, which might have been very prejudicial to the writer of them, and have hurt his interest and his friendship with other friends.

It has been afferted, that in fearch of M. D'Eon, found a libeller by a Jury, in order to take and bring him into the King's Bench to receive judgment on the verdict, the doors and locks of chambers, closets and forutores, were broke open; altho' it was denied he was there, and it afterward appeared he was not there. This was faid to be done by virtue of a Capias from the K. B. but without any information upon oath of his being in such house, and merely upon a slight sufficient, that he might be there, grounded upon his having been seen about two months before

going to the house.

step, will enable a man, at last, to serve the more effectually, and even to impose a wrong sense upon the old revolution motto, of *Prodesse* quam conspici. And yet there is, after all, such a thing as outwitting one's self, and being the dupe of one's own cunning, after having made this lest-handed wisdom the study of

one's life from the tenderest infancy.

The Attorney having flightly passed over the feizure of papers, after talking of it as a mere picture for which he happened to have no tafte, intirely omits the subsequent grievance of the close confinement; and, my fon, having fomewhat touched that matter in his letter, I shall not expatiate upon the subject, so much at least, as the importance of it would otherwife have inclined me to. Any body, however, who looks at the warrant of commitment, will fee the direction to the constable of the Tower, is not merely to keep Mr. Wilkes fafe, but "to keep him fafe and close, until he " shall be delivered by due course of law." Now, the custody here directed, is unwarrantable by law, in the case of a misdemeanor, nay, in any cafe.

* * * 'The present parliament took on notice of The North Briton, No. 45, in consequence of the King's message, and upon the mere view of the paper itself, without inquiring into the truth of any circumstances,

that the author might rely upon, or the public's opinion of his intent thereby, determined

it unanimously to be a libel; and yet, this is not only what great Judges esteem a mere point of law, but what by some is held to be a very difficult point of law. This was done too without any previous communication with the Lords. The Commons even went farther, for they afterwards called for evidence, in order to find out who was the author; and it appearing to them, altho' by witnesses not upon oath, that one of their own members was, they expelled him, after sitting, debating and deliberating on their conduct 'till half an hour after three in the morning. Now, this last was a fact, which by the constitution of this country, is to be tried by a Jury."

this country, is to be tried by a Jury."

* * * * * * * 'It is not fit they* 's should interfere where the public is not deeply interested; but where it is, they are bound to do fo, in justice to their representatives, and they always have done fo. they have gone further, and where the necessity was great, they have even come to a refo-' lution in point of law, contrary to the judg-'ment of a court of law, and to the opinion of ten out of twelve judges. Where they fuspected any undue influence, either in the exertion or the support of the Prerogative, by officers of the crown, or by Judges, they have always interposed. Is it possible to forget, or to controvert, either their conduct, or the propriety of it, in the great cafe of fhip-money? 'The

* * * * * * The fame parliae ment likewise took notice even of the transcactions in another kingdom, and refolved that feveral procedings by the Lord Lieuteant of Ireland were unjust and illegal; and that the Judges there were fit to be quef-tioned as criminal, for their extrajudicial proceedings and opinions. From multitudes of inflances, where the commons have come to a refolution with respect to matters of law, 'I have only selected a few, in order to shew, that they have done fo, when the House was 'filled with great, constitutional lawyers, where the same point had been already and differently determined by a court of law, and even by all the Judges: in matters of univerfal concern, and in particular cases, and even with respect to libellers, in points of both common and Eclefiastical law; within s and without the realm of England; and that this they have done without any conference with the Lords, and not as a FOUNDATION for ANY BILL, and, yet their rofolution has been obeyed and conformed to ever fince as law, by every court of judicature in the kingdom. A resolution of the present House of Commons would be equally respected, I doubt not, whatever big words any man may throw out to the contrary, by every Judge; and I never knew a dealer in such fort of speech that had a single grain of true spirit or bottom, when he came to be tried. This being the practice of these guardians

dians of the people's rights, upon former occasions, makes me more curious than ever to know, what it was that influenced the pre-' fent parliament, after inquiry and proof of General Warrants being clearly contrary to law, to refrain from condemning the usage of them. The more especially, as it will 'appear hereafter by the Votes and Journals, ' that a gross complaint had been made of the ' abuse of these warrants, in the case of one of their own Members, and that THE DE-BATE UPON THE QUESTION OF 'THEIR VALIDITY, had been THE LONG-' EST to be met with fince Parliaments have ' had a BEING.* We who are living know very " well from the members of all parties, that nobody attempted to vindicate the legality of these war-' rants; but our posterity will not have the same oral fatisfaction, and must naturally conclude, from their not being declared illegal, according to the ancient usage of the House in matters of like universal concern, that fomething appeared which rendered the point of law very problematical. Indeed, it must from reafon feem to every reader, that altho' the

"We do declare, that NO QUESTION upon the Legality or Illegality of General Warrants was ever MOVED in the

" House.

^{*} Sir Armine Wodehouse and Col. De Grey, in their advertisement of October 31, 1767, express themselves in the following words:

This, perhaps, was the most extraordinary, and the boldest declaration ever made publick by any two representatives in parliament, being in manifest contradiction to the PRINTED VOTES of their OWN HOUSE.

House inquired into the matter, on account of 'its infinite consequence, yet, that it could not be warranted in passing a censure upon those who had used these warrants, nay, was on the contrary obliged to hold them justified, and to discharge the complaint against them, ' however much the House might wish to damn ' fuch warrants, if not in all cases, vet, at least, ' in that of misdemeanors and libels, and with that view had apparently narrowed the first ' proposed resolution to one of a particular nature. The natural conclusion + from the ' printed votes and journals must be, that the ' Commons could not find a ground for con-' demning General Warrants in all cases, or even in the fingle case of a libel, altho' accompanied with an order to feize papers; infornuch, that I should think an able man would hereafter alledge the present proceed-'ings, as a justification not only of these General Warrants, for the seizure of persons, but 'also of papers, even in the case of a misde-' meanor, fo that this ulage will be apt to egain strength from what has passed, as non regredi est progredi in such an enterprize as f this.

'The fingle obiter faying of a Judge at Nisi prius, or even the judgment of a court of Law, will not be fufficient to reftrain future ministers, hurt by what is published against them, from using this general, sweeping pow-

[†] Vide the printed Votes of Jan. 20, Feb. 10, 13, 14, and 17, 1764.

er, when they find, that a House of Commons will not interfere in the case, except to vindicate the persons who use it. For which reasons, I wish, with all my heart, this assert had never been agitated in parliament; because I am sorry that any time-serving Judge hereaster, should have so good a pretext for using his discretion in the determination of the point, and for not being asraid of Parliaments calling him to an account for what he should do.'

* * * * * * As to what he has faid with regard to the ' infignificance of the mere resolution of the ' house of Commons, I do recollect that some-' thing of a like fort was flung out by one learned ' gentleman, who, indeed, closed the whole of his argument on this point, by faying, that "had he the honour of prefiding in any "court of law, he should regard such a re-" folution no more than he would that of fo " many drunken* porters in Covent Garden." 'It would not, perhaps be "a judicial deter-" mination of the law, which might be plead-" ed in a court of judicature, and would only " be a declaration of the fense of the law," BY ALL THE COMMONS OF ENG-' LAND. And without doubt, if the resolution of

^{*} This is a defiance thrown out against the representatives of all the Commons of England with a vengeance! This will convey to the reader an idea of what fort of complexion the supporters of General Warrants were, and that nothing would have stop'd them, if they had carried this point so much contended for.

of one house would be of no weight with this gentleman, the refolutions of BOTH HOUSES would be of none. Nothing but the concurrence of King, Lords and Como mons will do for him. And yet, I dare ' fay, he would be confoundedly frightened with a fingle vote of either House, should he live to experience it. I will not fay, that the two houses have ever gone so far as to make law, altho', I believe, they have gone · fo far as to make a King; but this, I am fure of, that they have very often declared what the law was in very great points, and this is all that was contended for. In times more remote, when houses of Commons were not ' fo fcrupulous, they have frequently come to refolutions declaratory of the law; as any one 'may fee, by reading an account of their proceedings in the reign of Charles the First, when headed by Sir Edward Coke, Selden, Glanville, and the great lawyers of those days: ' and this right they continued to claim and to ' exercife when Mr. Somers, Serjeant May-'nard, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Win-' nington and other lawyers, undertook to con-6 duct them prior to the Revolution, which last ' transaction, altho' wearing away very fast in remembrance, is a period of history not yet 'absolutely forgotten. At that time, some of the men I have named were thought to un-' derstand the constitution; they had lived in the ticklish times, and studied it closely.

But without entering into all the obliquities of chicane, which may be practifed to delay for two years together, if not entirely to prevent, any determination; there are many e people who will never believe, that for fuch a reason alone, any House of Commons, in an effential point of liberty, touching one of their own members, would wait, especially in a clear case where the law was not doubt-'ful, to fee what might or might not be done in any inferior court, but would immediate-'ly come to a strong resolution in behalf of the subject at large, that should in their printed votes pervade the whole kingdom; and 'not leave any country gentleman, or other unlearned man, in a future case of a like fort, to fend for information to some practitioner of the law, before he could tell what to do in the matter.

'Where the birthright and immemorial fran'chise of the subject has been broken, why
'should not the Commons, when affembled,
'come to a resolution; after a complaint made
'to them, the fact apparent, the law certain;
'Would it not have been constitutional? Would
'it not have been fatisfactory? When it was
'directly advanced, that it would be an insult
'on the understanding of mankind, to pretend
'that the usage of a political office could overturn or suspend the law of the land; did any
'one man attempt to gainsay or contradict the
'position? And if a recent determination at
'law by any Judge had been upon the point;

is it not an additional reason for the House ont hefitating about a DAMNATORY RESOLUTION? Or, if as was before urged,
perhaps a little inconfiftently, the point by
fome means or other, was ftill hanging undecided in the courts below; was it not fo
much the more necessary for the parliament to prevent any fuspense thereby in people's minds, about their CLEAR BIRTHRIGHT? 'Nay, as every body knows that the prefent ' House of Commons is independent, whatever others may have been; will not the recep-'tion, the discussion by the *LONGEST DE-BATE in the journals of parliament, and the ' fubsequent suspense and indecision of the point, ' make men who had no doubt before, begin to doubt'a little now? What should make a ' free, constitutional and independent part of the legislature, when appealed to by one of its own members, (I may fay fled to, as an afylum from the violence of those pretending the authority of the crown,) refuse to come to a decifive refolution in favour of their own and every other Englishman's boasted inheri-'tance? May not this create a doubt in many a fensible man's mind where there was none before? If the times had been arbitrary, men e might have thought the crown perhaps had ' interposed, and that the Commons were therefore afraid to perfift in the affertion even of the'r known rights. But there not being the least ground now for fuch a furmize, it will make

^{*} See Sir Armine and Mr. De Grey's advertisement again.

' many men at a loss how to account for the par-'liament's taking the matter, confidering it, and then coming to no refolution at all, but ad-Gourning it SINE DIE. The point was fo great, that never were the EYES of MAN-· KIND more FIXED upon their REPRESEN-TATIVES. Indeed, I never faw more flir in the House itself, every body pressing his friend to stay and voto; the Secretaries of the 'Treasury, and other men of consequence, were remarkably active; and every thing wore the face of a decifive day. Why, after all, no resolution was come to, I never could learn. I am sure what has been urged ' without doors, has not the least semblance of reason or constitution. Indeed in all my reading of past times, I have never met with any like it. On such points, the Commons ever used to proceed to a firong refolution. ' therefore influenced the ministers on that day, 'I cannot guess, unless it be what I dare not ' name. The common report is, that they s carried their point, in coming to no refolution, but by fourteen; that during the debate, they were apprehensive the majority would be e against them; that many of their very best ' friends voted, and some even spoke against 'them; that fome fons left their fathers, and chers with difficulty went out of town; that ' many members who had not attended the ' whole fession before, came down, some from 'fick-beds, others from foreign parts; and ' yet after all, altho' the House fat two days on

'the matter, the first day from three in the 'afternoon through the whole night, till near ' feven the next morning, and the other day 'till half an hour after five in the morning, ' the deciding reasons against coming to the re-'folution proposed, prevailed only by a ma-' jority of fourteen. The crowd and agitation of people about the House was inexpressible; fubstantial old citizens, who could not fleep ' from concern, flopped members as they pasted in their chairs, to know the event; in ' fhort, the face of mankind could not fhew "more distress, if the constitution had been 'actually given up to a Stuart, in one of it's " most effential and vital parts, by a Tory and passively obedient parliament. And why all this? I am curious to know; I must again from my heart declare, and I conjure, therefore, those who do know, to give the public their reasons for the same.

"What "necessity of peculiar circumstances," *the Attorney may think there should be absolutely to require their interposition," I know not: but I should imagine these few circumstances would be fully sufficient; namely, that the act complained of was committed in time of public tranquility, without a colour of law, by a King's minister, upon one of the representatives of the people, in a free country, on a charge of the most disputable of all crimes, which is at most but a misdemeanor; when too, however apparent

ly libellous the words might feem without doors, perhaps (to borrow a common word with the Attorney) no man would fay, they would have been deemed libellous, had they been uttered by any member in his place within doors, fince the memorable case of The FIVE MEMBERS.'

I will now take leave, and apply to the prefent subject what a great man, a Tory too, said on another occasion, with a change of three words only. This great man was

Sir WILLIAM WYNDHAM, father of the late earl of Egremont, and of Mrs. George Grenville, and Chancellor of the Exchequer for the Tories under Queen Anne. He was committed to the Tower for HIGH TREASON in 1715, and delivered under the Habeas Corpus Act in 1716; and his case under that statute was the great case urged in savour of Mr. WILKES, when brought up by Habeas Corpus to the Common Pleas, in order to be delivered from a commitment to the TOWER, by his SON, for a Libe!

SIR,

In all the variety of company I have kept, I have never heard a fingle man without doors pretend to justify this measure; and when the sentiments of particulars were such, I did not expect, when they were met together in a body, to see a majority vote for it, This must be owing to one of these causes:

causes: either gentlemen were convinced by the arguments made use of in the House for justifying this measure, or there are o-' ther methods of convincing befides reason. I am not at liberty to suppose it the latter, therefore I must suppose it the former. 'this, Sir, is to me a very melancholly confi-' deration; for, though I have attended with ' the utmost regard to all that has been said ' upon this measure, I have not heard a fin-'gle argument in its favour, that has had the ' least weight with me. I must now conclude that I do not understand reason when I hear 'it, therefore I am resolved to retire. However, I must beg gentlemen to consider the consequences. This adjournment is intended to convince mankind, that the measure now ' under confideration is a reasonable and an ho-' norable measure for this nation; but if a majority of fourteen, in fuch a full House, should ' fail of that fuccess; if the people should not ' implicitly refign their' reason to a vote of this 'House, what will be the consequence? Will onot the Parliament lose its authority? Will it ' not be thought that even in Parliament, we 'are governed by a faction? For my own ' part, I will trouble you no more, but with 'these my last words, "I sincerely pray to ' Almighty God, who has fo wonderfully pro-' tected these kingdoms, that he will graciously ' continue his protection over them, by prefer-' ving us from that impending danger which 'threatens threatens the nation from without, and likewife that impending danger which threatens our constitution from within."



F I N I S.



